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Mourt's Relation

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE PILGRIMS

AT PLYMOUTH,

IN NEW ENGLAND, IN 1620:

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL VOLUME.

WITH HISTORICAL AND LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS
OF PROVIDENCES, PRINCIPLES, AND PERSONS:

BY

GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN WILEY, 161 BROADWAY.
AND 13 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

1848.

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Mourt's relation.

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PREFACE.

Some years ago, about the time of the publication of Dr. Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, and before I had seen that work, the original volume of the Journal of the Pilgrims came into my possession, and I resolved to publish it with annotations. I supposed then that there was but one other copy of the work in this country. I was prevented by various causes at that time from the accomplishment of my intention, until a recent visit to Plymouth revived my purpose, and this volume became the fruit of it.

I am greatly indebted, as every one who attempts to write concerning the Plymouth Pilgrims must find himself to be, to Dr. Young's invaluable publications of the Chronicles of the Pilgrims and the Chronicles of Massachusetts. The notes to those works contain an immense amount of information, perfectly to be relied upon, and also of accurate references to the sources of knowledge at command. The Library of the New York Historical Society, to which I have had the freest access, is rich and abundant in its material concerning the early history of the Plymouth Pilgrims, and of New England.

This work, begun in the way of Historical Notes, has grown into twenty-four chapters; and I have been led, incidentally, to adopt a classification of my materials of illustration, which is important in itself, and will certainly impart to the work something of the merit of novelty; that is, to arrange in separate subjects and sketches, as far as possible, the

germs, or beginnings, or first appearances of our native New England customs and institutions. I have endeavored to trace the wonderful providential discipline of God with the colony of Plymouth, and to some extent with that of Massachusetts, and to show the constant action of those principles of piety for which they suffered, under the supremacy of which they labored, and by which, through the grace of Christ, they were successful.

Doubtless, the great lesson of God's teachings in the first years of the conflict of our Pilgrim Fathers, and as Mr. Choate called it, "the days of their human agony of glory," is the lesson of the atonement itself, and of that wondrous passage respecting Christ, that he was *made perfect through suffering*;—the necessity of a baptism of suffering, in some way, and of its holy endurance beneath the hand of God, at the foundation of every great enterprise in our fallen world, for the good of man and for God's glory. Never was there in the history of the world, out of the Divine records, a more signal and affecting display of this principle, and of God's disciplinary and covenant mercy in it to mankind, than in the story of the trials and endurances of our Pilgrim and Puritan Fathers.

The picture, if drawn by the hand of a master, would be surpassingly beautiful; and there certainly will yet emanate from some devout mind and heart in New England, from some individual prepared and gifted of God for the duty (as D'Aubigné was disciplined and guided in his great work on the Reformation), a book of unrivalled interest and lasting power, on the History of the Pilgrims and Puritans in America. Such a work would, in its foundations and introductory material, run back to the days of Hooper, and the opening and progress of the Reformation in England, and the persecuting instrumentality of Elizabeth, James, and the Hierarchical Despotism. Then the stream of history divides, and there are two great works to be accomplished, concentrating the interest and progress of the world upon the principles developed and illustrated, namely, the History of the Puritans in Great Britain, and the History of the Puritans in America. Here are two of the grandest subjects in the world for genius and piety. All things done as yet are mere materials collected,

and shafts of light here and there poured down. Some of Carlyle's works are such shafts of light and power; but even yet they are seen, as the sunlight often is, amidst steams of vaporous prejudice drawn from the earth and rising into clouds. The veil of prejudice is yet to be removed away, and the work of Divine Providence and Grace is to be revealed, as a glorious landscape amidst clear shining after rain.

New York, *Nov.* 21, 1848.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART I.

PAGE

JOURNAL OF THE PILGRIMS 1–110

PART II.

HISTORICAL AND LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Principles, Providences, Persons—The Colony of Principle and the Colony of Gain 111

CHAPTER II.

The Virginia Company, and the Merchant Adventurers . . . 117

CHAPTER III.

The Merchant Adventurers—Articles of Agreement for the transportation of the Pilgrims; otherwise the Copartnership—Dissolution of the Company 123

CHAPTER IV.

The Pilgrim Church in England, and the first church compact . . 134

CHAPTER V.

Comparison of God's Preparatory Providences 140

CHAPTER VI.

The Pilgrim Church at Leyden, and the Pastor Robinson—The Vine brought out of Egypt, but not yet planted in the Wilderness . . 147

PAGE

CHAPTER VII.

The first New England Church, and their Elder, Mr. Brewster—The Vine brought out and planted 163

CHAPTER VIII.

Congregational Constitution of the Pilgrim Church—Correspondence of Brewster and Robinson with the Council in England as to their principles—Comparison of Congregationalism and Hierarchism . 185

CHAPTER IX.

The First Civil Compact—Toleration, Connivance, Liberty of Conscience—Foundation of the State—Repetition of the free Covenants 195

CHAPTER X.

The first Settlement, following the first Compact—Discovery of Plymouth—The Harbor, the Localities, the Associations—Plymouth Rock, and the beauty of the highttide scenery 205

CHAPTER XI.

Instructive discipline of the Pilgrim Church at Amsterdam—Original order and beauty of the Churches there—Evils of dissension and of minute Church legislation—The forbearing and kindly spirit of the Pilgrim Church 212

CHAPTER XII.

The Life, Character, and Administration, of Governor Bradford . . 219

CHAPTER XIII.

The first New England Sabbath 239

CHAPTER XIV.

The first New England Meeting-House 250

CHAPTER XV.

The first Deaths and Burials 260

CHAPTER XVI.

The first Fast and Thanksgiving—Remarkable instance of the Divine Interposition in answer to prayer 271

CHAPTER XVII.

The first New England Council, Church Organization, and Ordination 289

CHAPTER XVIII. PAGE

The first attempt at Schism—Recalcitration of the Establishment . 300

CHAPTER XIX.

Slanders against the Colony—Laud's High Commission to overturn its Church and Government—The case of Mr. Winslow's Imprisonment—The case of Mr. Endicott, and the Red Royal Ensign . 310

CHAPTER XX.

The first imposition of a Minister, and the character and end of the man and the effort—Conspiracy of Lyford and Oldham—Energy and prudence of the Governor 321

CHAPTER XXI.

The first civil offence and punishment—Mildness, forbearance, self-respect, and kindness of the Pilgrims—The first murderer and his end—Their views of Capital Punishment for Murder—The greatness and wisdom of their legal reforms 329

CHAPTER XXII.

The first Town-meeting—Providential discipline and development of freedom 337

CHAPTER XXIII.

Governor Bradford's Letter Book 344

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Antiquities of Plymouth—The houses and armor of the Pilgrims—Description of their mode of public worship 358

A RELATION OR

Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation setled at *Plimoth* in NEW ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both Merchants and others.

With their difficult passage, their safe ariuall, their ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting themselues in the now well defended Towne of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE seuerall discoueries since made by some of the same English Planters there resident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK *the habitation of the Indians greatest King* Massasoyt : *as also their message, the answer and entertainment they had of him.*

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawset, *to seeke a boy that had lost himselfe in the woods : with such accidents as befell them in that voyage.*

III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaschet, *in defence of their greatest King* Massasoyt, *against the* Narrohiggonsets, *and to reuenge the supposed death of their Interpreter* Tisquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Massachusets, *and their entertainment there.*

With an answer to all such obiections as are any way made against the lawfulnesse of English plantations in those parts.

LONDON,

Printed for *Iohn Bellamie*, and are to be sold at his shop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

EXPLANATION OF THE INITIALS I. P. AND R. G.

The individual to whom the introductory note or letter at the beginning of this volume is addressed, as the writer's much respected friend, Mr. I. P——, is supposed by Dr. Young to be Mr. John Pierce, perhaps a leading merchant under authority from the Council of persons, between whom and King James the patent of incorporation to the Northern Colony of Virginia, between 40 and 48 degrees North, was signed, unknown to the pilgrims, Nov. 3d, 1620, about a week before their arrival at Cape Cod, while they, under toleration of no King or earthly power, were struggling across the ocean. The incorporated body, composed of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir F. Gorges, with thirty-four others, and their successors, were styled, The Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America.

The patent for the Plymouth Colony under this body seems to have been taken out in the name of Mr. John Pierce, to whom therefore, in all probability, the initials I. P. belong. Under date of July, 1622, we find in Prince's Chronology, an extract from Governor Bradford's Journal as follows: "By Mr. Weston's ship (from England) comes a letter from Mr. John Pierce, in whose name the Plymouth patent is taken ; signifying that whom the Governor admits into the Association, he will approve."

By another entry in Governor Bradford's Journal, it

would seem that this Mr. Pierce afterwards endeavored to deal treacherously by the Colony for his own private advantage; but his scheme was utterly frustrated and broken by the good providence of God. He fitted out a vessel, in which he intended to come to Plymouth himself, with the powers of a liege lord committed to him in a second and separate patent, which, had he succeeded in his plan, might have proved the ruin of the colony. But God ordered it otherwise, as we see from Governor Bradford's relation, which Mr. Prince sets down in the following words, after mentioning the ship the Paragon, and the number of her passengers. "Being fitted out by Mr. John Pierce, in whose name our first patent was taken, *his name being only used in trust:* but when he saw we were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave us had obtained favor with the Council for New England, he gets another patent of a large extent, *meaning to keep it to himself*, allow us only what he pleased, hold us as his tenants, and sue to his courts as chief lord. But meeting with tempestuous storms in the Downs, the ship is so bruised and leaky, that in fourteen days she returned to London, was forced to be put into the dock, one hundred pounds laid out to mend her, and lay six or seven weeks to Dec. 22d, before she sailed a second time. But being half way over, met with extreme tempestuous weather about the middle of February, which held fourteen days, beat off the round house with all her upper works, obliged them to cut her masts and return to Portsmouth, having 109 souls aboard, *with Mr. Pierce himself.* Upon which great and repeated loss and disappointment, he is prevailed upon for £500 to resign to the Company his patent, which cost him but £50. And the goods, with charge of passengers in this ship, cost the Company £640, for which they were forced to hire another ship, the Ann." This ship arrived the end of July or beginning of August, 1623.

Such is the simple account of a remarkable providence, interposing for the protection of the Pilgrims, and bringing to naught a plan fraught with despotism and danger. The interpositions of this nature were so frequent and striking, that the attention of all men must have been arrested by them, as that of even the Indians was by God's mercy in the sudden rain, at the day of fasting and prayer in July, 1623. Of this the account will be given in the historical and local illustrations. The present providence is here noted, because it occurs in connexion with the name of Mr. Pierce, and turns, indeed, upon his attempt to get the mastery of the colony. His plan had not been formed, or if formed, was not developed, when R. G. wrote this recommendation of the Journal of the Pilgrims to "his much respected friend Mr. I. P."

The initials R. G. appended to this letter are supposed to signify the name of Robert Cushman, the G. being possibly a misprint for C. Mr. Cushman was the first agent appointed by the Church of the Pilgrims in Leyden, along with Mr. Carver, afterwards first Governor of the Colony, to treat with the Virginia Company, and endeavor to get liberty of conscience from the King. He had much trust reposed in him, and business put upon him, in preparing the Mayflower and her little company, with the Speedwell, for their voyage. He and his family embarked with them, intending to have been of the first band of Pilgrims, but were compelled to return when the Speedwell put back to England, and afterwards came in the Fortune, Nov. 9, 1621. The only consideration in the least degree in the way of supposing this to be Mr. Cushman's letter, is the fact that it is written as by one of the resident colonists themselves, one supposed to be at Plymouth, while the Journal he recommends is sent to be published in England; whereas Mr. Cushman himself returned to England by appointment of the adventurers, for their better information,

in the same vessel by which the Journal seems to have been sent, namely, the Fortune, which sailed Dec. 13. This, however, may be deemed of little importance, as he wrote in the name and behalf of others. His death prevented him from afterwards settling with the Colony. The same vessel which brought the notice to the Colony of the death of Robinson, their beloved pastor, brought also the news of Mr. Cushman's death, of which Governor Bradford makes the following register in 1626:

"Our captain also brings us notice of the death of our ancient friend Mr. Cushman, who was our right hand with the adventurers, and for divers years has managed all our business with them, to our great advantage. He had wrote to the Governor a few months before of the sickness of Mr. James Sherley, who was a chief friend of the plantation, and lay at the point of death; declaring his love and helpfulness in all things, and bemoaning our loss if God should take him away, as being the stay and life of the business; as also of his own purpose to come this year and spend the rest of his days with us."

TO HIS MUCH RE-

spected *Friend*, M^r. *I. P.*

GOod Friend: As wee cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our natiue countrey, for that we had the happinesse to be possessed of the comforts we receiue by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthfull, and most fruitfull parts of the world: So must wee acknowledge the same blessing to bee multiplied vpon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receiue allowance and approbation of our free possession, and enioying thereof vnder the authority of those thrice honoured Persons, the *President* and *Counsell* for the affaires of *New-England*, by whose bounty and grace, in that behalfe, all of vs are tied to dedicate our best seruice vnto them, as those vnder his Majestie, that wee owe it vnto: whose noble endeuours in these their actions the God of heauen and earth multiply to his glory and their owne eternall comforts.

As for this poore Relation, I pray you to accept it,

as

as being writ by the seuerall Actors themselues, after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defectiue in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satisfie those that are well affected to the businesse, it is all I care for. Sure I am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more than enough, neither is there want of ought among vs, but company to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed vpon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation it selfe, to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, saue that I shall alwaies rest

From PLIMOTH in
New-England.

Yours in the way of friendship, R. G.

EXPLANATION OF THE SIGNATURE G. MOURT.

The epistle to the reader signed G. Mourt is regarded by Dr. Young, and with much probability, nay, almost certainty, unless the name be entirely fictitious, as having been written by George Morton, the brother-in-law of Governor Bradford, who came to the Colony in 1623, but died in June, 1624, "a gracious servant of God, an unfeigned lover and promoter of the common good and growth of this plantation, and faithful in whatever public employment he was entrusted with." He came in the Ann about the end of July, 1623, and is named as one of the principal among the best and most useful members of the body who arrived in that vessel.—(Prince, pages 139 and 148 of the original edition, vol. i.)

He seems to have superintended the publication of the Journal, and in consequence the volume has generally gone, very inappropriately, by the name of "Mourt's Relation." A more proper title is the "Journal of the Pilgrims." Mr. Prince called it the "Relation published by Mourt."

It will be noted that Mourt or Morton, then writing in London in 1621, sets forth as the first grand reason for the plantation of the Pilgrim Colonists in New England, "the desire of carrying the gospel of Christ into those foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge nor taste of God."

To the Reader.

COurteous Reader, be intreated to make a fauorable construction of my forwardnes, in publishing these inseuing discourses: the desire of carrying the Gospell of Christ into those forraigne parts, amongst those people that as yet haue had no knowledge, nor tast of God, as also to procure vnto themselues and others a quiet and comfortable habytation: weare amongst other things the inducements vnto these vndertakers of the then hopefull, and now experimentally knowne good enterprice for plantation, in New England, *to set afoote and prosecute the same: & though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the first attempts proue difficult, as the sequell more at large expresseth, yet it hath pleased God, euen beyond our expectation in so short a time, to giue hope of letting some of them see (though some he hath taken out of this vale of teares) some grounds of hope, of the accomplishment of both those endes, by them at first propounded.*

And as my selfe then much desired, and shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder

in

in this hopefull business, and in the meane time, these relations comming to my hand from my both known & faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not a misse to make them more generall, hoping of a cheerfull proceeding, both of Aduenturers and planters, intreating that the example of the hon: Virginia *and* Bermudas *Companies, incountering with so many distasters, and that for diuers yeares together, with an vnwearied resolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may preuaile as a spurre of preparation also touching this no lesse hopefull Country though yet an infant, the extent & commodities whereof are as yet not fully known; after time wil vnfould more: such as desire to take knowledge of things, may informe themselues by this insuing treatise, and if they please also by such as haue bin there a first and second time: my harty prayer to God is that the euent of this and all other honorable and honest vndertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdome of Christ, the inlarging of the bounds of our Soueraigne Lord King* Iames, *& the good and profit of those, who either by purse, or person, or both, are agents in the same, so I take leaue and rest*

Thy friend G. Mourt.

EXPLANATION OF THE INITIALS I. R.

ROBINSON'S LETTER TO THE PILGRIMS.

The initials I. R. appended to the following admirable letter are those of John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden, and the letter is his. It was written on occasion of the embarking of the Pilgrims in 1620. They received it at Southampton, whither they had sailed from Leyden, from Delft-haven, July 22d, having at that time bade farewell personally to their beloved pastor and the members of the church they were leaving. Mr. Robinson seems to have written this letter for the company of Pilgrims, with a shorter one to Mr. Carver, a deacon of the church, at the same time, July 27th. The reading of it was made a special occasion at one of the last meetings of the Pilgrims at Southampton, just before they went on board ship; and under such apostolical benedictions, instructions, and fervent prayers, from him whom God had set over them in the ministry of the gospel, they departed. Governor Bradford gives a short mention of this letter in the following words; "Mr. Robinson writes to Mr. Carver and people letters, which they receive at Southampton; and the company being called together, theirs is read among them, to the acceptance of all, and after-fruit of many."

The letter is such as might well produce *after-fruit*. It breathes the same spirit of far-seeing wisdom and love as that manifested in Robinson's celebrated parting discourse, at the day of fasting and prayer, "ready to depart on the

morrow." It will be noted with what prudence and affectionate earnestness he warns and instructs the flock for their conduct in the wilderness. He begins with the duty of daily individual repentance and peace with Christ; next peace with all men, especially with one another, by love, by gentleness and patience towards the infirmities of one another, by great watchfulness against either giving or taking offence, reminding them what cause the beginning of their civil community will minister for such extreme and tender care. And how beautiful the added injunction, to take none offence at God himself, whose loving providence they were now sure to meet in the shape of many crosses!

Next, to guard anxiously against private selfishness, and have in all things an eye single to the general good, avoiding the indulgence of particular fancies and singular manners apart from the general conveniency. In this he refers also to the danger from the pushing of private opinions as law for others. And that sentence which follows ought to be engraven in every mind: "As men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit, so be you much more careful that the House of God, which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof."

Then how important and just his hints for their guidance in regard to the choice and obedience of their officers of government. In all respects, this letter is one of the most remarkable ever penned. No wonder that it bore *after-fruit* in many; for it was full of precious germs of truth, every word and phrase being well weighed; and its brief but heavenly instructions fell into hearts softened and prepared. Who can tell how great the effect of that letter must have been upon the prosperity of the colony, the church; how it grew beneath Christ's care, by the

guidance of its under-shepherd's instructions, even after he had gone to his rest!

He speaks in this letter of many of the intended pilgrims being strangers to the persons and infirmities of one another. This could not have been the case with those who had been members of his own church so many years together at Leyden, or were there acquainted with him or with one another, and therefore it must refer to those who expected to join them in England; of whom it is probable the greater part were those who put back in the Speedwell. The colony of Pilgrims was thus rendered, by the good providence of God, more completely one, and better acquainted from the outset with each other's characters, and therefore more confident in one another, and less exposed to dissensions than Robinson himself had anticipated.

God not only "sifted three kingdoms" to get the seed of this enterprise, but sifted that seed over again. Every person, whom he would not have to go at that time to plant the first colony of New England, he sent back, even from mid-ocean, in the Speedwell.

It was like God's dealings with Gideon and his army. "The people are yet too many; bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there; and it shall be, that of whom I say unto thee, This shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This shall not go with thee, the same shall not go."

CERTAINE VSEFVL ADVERTISEMENTS SENT

in a Letter written by a discreete friend vnto the Planters in *New England*, at their first setting *saile from Southhampton, who earnestly desireth the prosperitie of that their new Plantation.*

* *
*

LOuing and Christian friends, I doe heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you, I say constrained, God knowing how willingly and much rather than otherwise I would haue borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessitie held backe for the present. Make account of me in the meane while, as of a man deuided in my selfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds set aside) hauing my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisedomes you both foresee and resolue vpon that which concerneth your present state and condition both seuerally and ioyntly, yet haue I thought but my dutie to adde some further spurre of prouocation vnto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in loue and dutie.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, speciall for our sinnes knowne, and generall for our vnknown trespasses, so doth the Lord call vs in a singular maner vpon occasions of such difficultie and danger as lieth vpon you, to a both more narrow search and carefull reformation of our wayes in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sinnes forgotten

by vs or vnrepented of, take aduantage against vs, and in iudgement leaue vs for the same to be swallowed vp in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, sealed vp vnto a mans conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliuerance from all euill, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heauenly peace with God and our owne consciences, we are carefully to prouide for peace with all men what in vs lieth, especially with our associates, and for that end watchfulnes must be had, that we neither at all in our selues do giue, no nor easily take offence being giuen by others. Woe be vnto the world for offences, for though it be necessary (considering the malice of Satan and mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe unto the man or woman either by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Math. 18. 7. And if offences in the vnseasonable vse of things in themselues indifferent, be more to be feared then death itselfe, as the Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply euill, in which neither honour of God nor loue of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep our selues by the grace of God from giuing offence, except withall we be armed against the taking of them when they are giuen by others. For how vnperfect and lame is the worke of grace in that person, who wants charitie to couer a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace onely vpon the common grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charitie to couer offences, or wisedome duly to weigh humane frailtie; or lastly are grosse, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3. as indeed in mine owne experience, few or none haue beene found which sooner giue offence, then such as easily take it; neither haue they euer proued sound and profitable members in societies, which haue nourished in themselues that touchey humour. But besides these, there are diuers spetiall motiues prouoking you aboue others to great care and conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities

infirmities one of another, and so stand in neede of more watchfulnesse this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisedome and charitie for the couering and preuenting of incident offences that way. And lastly your intended course of ciuill communitie wil minister continuall occasion of offence, and will be as fuell for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causlessly or easily at mens doings be so carefully to be auoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himselfe, which yet we certainly do so oft as we do murmure at his prouidence in our crosses, or beare impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit vs. Store we vp therefore patience against the euill day, without which we take offence at the Lord himselfe in his holy and iust works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be prouided for, to wit, that with your common emploiments you ioyne common affections truly bent vpon the generall good, auoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and speciall comfort all retirednesse of minde for proper aduantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let euery man represse in himselfe and the whole bodie in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all priuate respects of mens selues, not sorting with the generall conueniencie. And as men are carefull not to haue a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit: so be you, I beseech you brethren, much more carefull, that the house of God which you are and are to be, be not shaken with vnnecessary nouelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politik, vsing amongst your selues ciuill gouernment, and are not furnished with any persons of speciall eminencie aboue the rest, to be chosen by you into office of gouernment: Let your wisedome and godlinesse appeare, not onely in chusing such persons as do entirely loue, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yeelding vnto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull administrations, not beholding in them the ordinarinesse of their

persons,

persons, but God's ordinance for your good; nor being like vnto the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the Magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how meane persons soeuer. And this dutie you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to performe, because you are at least for the present to haue onely them for your ordinary gouernours, which your selues shall make choise of for that worke.

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to thinke you heedlesse of these things, there being also diuers among you so well able to admonish both themselues and others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, and the same in few words I do earnestly commend vnto your care and conscience, ioyning therewith my daily incessant prayers vnto the Lord, that he who hath made the heauens and the earth, the sea and all riuers of waters, and whose prouidence is ouer all his workes, especially ouer all his deare children for good, would so guide and guard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may haue after matter of praising his Name all the days of your and our liues. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest

An vnfained well-willer
of your happie successe
in this hopefull voyage,

I. R.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PILGRIMAGE, PRELIMINARY TO THE JOURNAL.

The abrupt commencement of the Journal of the Pilgrims, at the date of their last parting from Plymouth in England, will be best introduced by the simple extract from Governor Bradford, given by Mr. Prince, commencing with the departure of the Pilgrims from Leyden. From that day to the date of their arrival in Cape Cod Harbor, the time was 108 days. From August 5th, the date of their first setting sail from Southampton in England, to Nov. 10th, the date of their anchorage in Cape Cod Harbor, 98 days, which in truth was the length of their voyage across the Atlantic; but from their last setting sail, after being compelled to put back to Plymouth, Sept. 6th, at which day the Journal of the Pilgrims commences, the voyage occupies 66 days, from port to port.

It was a boisterous passage; their first experience of the equinoctial storms between England and America, of which no record remains, save in the few lines from Governor Bradford under date of September 6th. They were in great peril, obliged to beat about for days, unable, through the violence of the gale, to carry a single sail. We should have been glad of some record of those days and nights of anxiety and prayer, in which they were sometimes in such serious question of the possibility of the ship enduring, as to ask whether they ought not again to put back to England. Thus their various delays, under Divine Providence, threw them upon our coast on the verge of winter, which, had it not been by the same Divine Provi-

dence, unusually mild and open, must have destroyed them utterly. Their experience was to be an illustration of God's discipline in all great enterprises, life out of death. "The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over unto death. Thou, which hast showed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth. Thou shalt increase my greatness, and comfort me on every side."

The extract from Governor Bradford is entitled by Mr. Prince, The Voyage of the English people at Leyden for Virginia.

"About July 21, the English voyagers at Leyden leave that city, where they had lived near twelve years, being accompanied by most of their brethren to Delph-Haven, where their ship lay ready, and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and take their leave. They spend that night in friendly entertaining and Christian converse, and July 22d, the wind being fair, they go aboard, their friends attending them. At their parting, Mr. Robinson falling down on his knees, and they all with him, he with watery cheeks commends them with most fervent prayer to God; and then with mutual embraces and many tears they take their leave, and with a prosperous gale come to Southampton, where they find the bigger ship from London, Mr. Jones Master, with the rest of the company, who had been waiting there with Mr. Cushman seven days. Seven hundred pounds sterling are laid out at Southampton, and they carry about seventeen hundred pounds' venture with them. And Mr. Weston comes thither from London, to see them dispatched."

"July 27th.—Mr. Robinson writes to Mr. Carver and people, letters, which they receive at Southampton. And the company being called together, theirs is read among them, to the acceptance of all, and after-fruit of many. Then they distribute their company into the ships, and with

the approbation of the masters choose a governor and two or three assistants for each, to order the people and provisions.

"August 5th they sail from Southampton, but reach not far before Mr. Reinolds, master of the lesser ship, complained she was so leaky, that he dare proceed no further. Upon which they both put in to Dartmouth, about August 13th, when they search and mend her, to their great charge and loss of time and a fair wind; though, had they stayed at sea but three or four hours more, she had sunk right down.

"About August 21 they set sail again; but having gone above a hundred leagues from the land's end of England, Mr. Reinolds complained of her leaking again, that they must either return or sink, for they could scarce free her by pumping. Upon which they both put back to Plymouth, where, finding no defect, they judge her leakiness owing to her general weakness. They therefore agree to dismiss her, and those who are willing, to return to London, though this was very grievous and discouraging; Mr. Cushman and family returning with them. The rest, taking what provision they could well stow in the larger ship, resolve to proceed on the voyage alone.

"Sept. 6th they make another sad parting, and the greater ship sets sail again; but about half-seas over meets with cross winds and many fierce storms, which often force them to hull for diverse days together, not being able to bear a knot of sail; make her upper works very leaky, and bow and wrack a main beam in the midship, which puts them in such fear, as the chief of the company enters into a serious consultation with the ship officers about returning. But a passenger having brought a great iron screw from Holland, they with it raise the beam into its place, and then, committing themselves to the Divine Will, proceed.

"Nov. 6th dies at sea William Butten, a youth and servant to Samuel Fuller, being the only passenger who dies on the voyage.

"Nov. 9th at break of day after long beating the sea, they make the land of Cape Cod. Whereupon they tack and stand to the southward, the wind and weather being fair, to find some place about Hudson's river for settlement. But sailing this course about half the day, they fall among roaring shoals and breakers, and are so entangled with them, as they find themselves in great hazard, and the wind shrinking upon them at the same time, they bear up for the Cape, get out of those dangers before night, and the next day into the Cape Harbor, where they ride in safety.

"Nov. 11th, Saturday, being thus arrived, they first fall on their knees and bless the God of Heaven. But their design and patent being for Virginia, and not New England, which belongs to another jurisdiction, wherewith the Virginia Company have no concern; before they land they this day combine into a body politic by a solemn contract, to which they set their hands, as the basis of their government in this new-found country, choose Mr. John Carver, a pious and well approved gentleman, their governor for the first year, and then set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, to fetch wood and discover the land."

Thus far Governor Bradford in Prince's Chronology. This trenches a little upon the beginning of the Journal of the Pilgrims, but with some additional circumstances; and by it we learn that the river which they were in search of, expecting to find it in a day or so of sail from Cape Cod, was the Hudson, that being near the limits of the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company. Had they found that, perhaps New York and New Jersey might have been the New England of America. But God ordered otherwise. Had they found that, they would not probably have entered into the great compact on board the Mayflower, which,

whatever may have been their original intention or foresight, constituted them a self-governing republic, although named "the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James."

At the bottom of that compact, the names of the signers are not given in the Journal, but they are all known. "Their names corrected," Mr Prince says, "with their titles and families, I take from the list at the end of Governor Bradford's folio manuscript. Only this I observe, that out of modesty he omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others."

The list follows, with the number of persons in their several families set opposite their names. One individual died on the passage, and one was born, whom they named Oceanus. The names in italics indicate those who died before the end of March, 1621.

Mr. John Carver,	8	Francis Cook,	2
William Bradford,	2	*Thomas Rogers*,	2
Mr. Edward Winslow,	5	*Thomas Tinker*,	3
Mr. William Brewster,	6	*John Ridgdale*,	2
Mr. Isaac Allerton,	6	*Edward Fuller*,	3
Capt. Miles Standish,	2	*John Turner*,	3
John Alden,	1	Francis Eaton,	3
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	*James Chilton*,	3
Mr. *Christopher Martin*,	4	*John Crackston*,	2
Mr. *William Mullins*,	5	John Billington,	4
Mr. *William White*,	5	*Moses Fletcher*,	1
Mr. Richard Warren,	1	*John Goodman*,	1
* John Howland,		*Degory Priest*,	1
Mr. Stephen Hopkins,	8	*Thomas Williams*,	1
Edward Tilly,	4	Gilbert Winslow,	1
John Tilly,	3	*Edmund Margeson*,	1

* Howland was of Governor Carver's family.

Peter Brown,	1	*John Allerton*,	1
Richard Britteridge.	1	*Thomas English*,	1
George Soule,	*	Edward Dotey,	*
Richard Clarke,	1	Edward Leister,	*
Richard Gardiner,	1		

The signers of the compact are in all forty-one, and with their families constituted one hundred and one persons. "So there were just 101," remarks Mr. Prince, "who sailed from Plymouth in England, and just as many arrived in Cape Cod Harbor. And this is the solitary number, who, for an undefiled conscience, and the love of pure Christianity, first left their pleasant and native land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of a tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region in North Virginia, where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity, in hopes that none would follow to disturb or vex them."

* Soule was of Governor Winslow's family. Dotey and Leister were of Mr. Hopkins's family servants.

A RELATION OR JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Plantation setled at *Plimoth* in New England.

WEdnesday the sixt of *September*, the Wind comming East North East, a fine small gale, we loosed from *Plimoth*, hauing beene kindly intertained and curteously vsed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boysterous stormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of *Nouember* following, by breake of the day we espied land which we deemed to be *Cape Cod*, and so afterward it proued. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, especially, seeing so goodly a Land, and woodded to the brinke of the sea, it caused vs to reioyce together, and praise God that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West, purposing to goe to a Riuer ten leagues to the South of the Cape, but at night the winde being contrary, we put round againe for the Bay of *Cape Cod;* and vpon the 11th. of *Nouember*, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land, compassed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Sassafras, and other sweet wood; it is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride: there we relieued our selues with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop

was

was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation ; there was the greatest store of fowle that euer we saw.

And euery day we saw Whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if we had instruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle ; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing, & purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here ; for Cod we assayed, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great Mussles, and very fat and full of Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers ; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The bay is so round & circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow shoot or two in going aland, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was many times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and gouernours, as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiects of our dread soveraigne Lord King IAMES, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA,

GINIA, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of *God* and one of another, covenant, and combine our selues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony; vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnesse whereof we haue here-vnder subscribed our names. *Cape Cod* 11th. of *November*, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King IAMES, of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland* 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domino* 1620.

The same day so soone as we could, we set a-shore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of Land; on this side where we lay is the *Bay*, and the further side the Sea; the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better; the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth; all wooded with Okes, Pines, Sassafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; the wood for the most part open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in; at night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which smelled very sweet & strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of *November*, we vnshipped our Shallop and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples lying in her, which kept vs long there, for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the Carpenter had finished her; our people went on shore to refresh themselues, and our women to wash, as they had great need; but whilest we lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be ready in fine or sixe dayes at the furthest, but our Carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance

therance to travaile by Land into the Countrey; which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provision, but on their backes; to see whether it might be fit for vs to seate in or no, and the rather because as we sayled into the Harbour, there seemed to be a river opening it selfe into the maine land; the willingnes of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his Musket, Sword, and Corslet, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Miles Standish*, vnto whom was adioyned for counsell and aduise, *William Bradford*, *Stephen Hopkins*, and *Edward Tilley*.

Wednesday the 15. of *November*, they were set a shore, and when they had ordered themselues in the order of a single File, and marched about the space of a myle, by the Sea, they espyed fiue or sixe people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they saw them ran into the Wood and whisled the Dogge after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be master *Iones*, the Master and some of his men, for they were a-shore, and knew of their comming, but after they knew them to be *Indians* they marched after them into the Woods, least other of the *Indians* should lie in Ambush; but when the *Indians* saw our men following them, they ran away with might and mayne and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe, but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they run vp an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinells, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our Randevous that night. In the morning so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, and had the tracke vntill we had compassed the head of a long creake, and there they tooke into another wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings; but we marched thorow boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces, and

Nov. 16. 1620.

and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in need off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland cheese, and a little Bottle of *aquavite*, so as we were sore a thirst. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse, through which we found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat vs downe and drunke our first *New-England* water with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our liues. When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee were (as we had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed River; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twise as long; there grew also many small vines, and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Sasafras; from thence we went on & founde much plaine ground, about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the *Indians* had formerly planted their corne.

After this, some thought it best for nearenesse of the river to goe downe and travaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tyred, and lagged behind; so we stayed and gathered them vp, and struck into the Land againe; where we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a woodden thing like a morter whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof; we musing what it might be, digged & found a Bow, and, as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graues, we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines; passing thus a field or two, which were

not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had beene, and foure or fiue old Plankes layed together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kettle and brought out of *Europe;* there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, (we might see how they had padled it with their hands,) which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36. goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight; the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure Bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made; But whilst wee were busie about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged vp the corne. We were in suspence, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would giue them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne, so wee tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more.

Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by some Christians: this was also hard by that place which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it so to be, deviding it selfe into two armes by an high banke, standing right by the cut or mouth which came from the Sea; that which was next vnto vs was the lesse, the other arme was more then twise as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to discover; for wee had Commandement to be out but two days. Here also we saw two Canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side; wee could not beleeue it was

a Canoa, till we came neare it: so we returned leauing the further discovery hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, euery one standing when his turne came, while fiue or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proved a very rainie night. In the morning we tooke our Kettle and sunke it in the pond, and trimmde our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wett, and so coasted the wood againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly pus-led, and lost our way. As we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt was bowed downe over a bow, and some Acornes strewed vnder-neath; *Stephen Hopkins* sayd, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the *Reare*, when he came looked also vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a sodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie devise, made with a Rope of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper in *England* can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high aboue the creake, where we saw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them. Wee also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, wee saw great flockes of wild Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water vp to the knees, till at length we came neare the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs; master *Iones*, and master *Caruer* being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meete vs.

F. 17. Nov. 1620.

And thus wee came both weary and well-come home, and deliuered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seed, for wee knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first Discovery, whilst our Shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and heluing of Tooles, and sawing of Tymber to build

a new Shallop, but the discommodiousnes of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from the shore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the midle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their owne pleasure, but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather proving sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed.

Nov. 27, 1620. When our Shallop was fit, indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two dayes worke after bestowed on her, there was appointed some 24 men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master *Iones* was desirous to goe with vs, and tooke such of his saylers as he thought vsefull for vs, so as we were in all about 34. men; wee made master *Iones* our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neerest shore the wind would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees; the wind was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night, but we marched sixe or seaven miles further, and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as soone as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and frose withall: some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about 11. a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and wee shipped our selues, and the wind being good, we sayled to the river we formerly discovered, which we named, *Cold Harbour*, to which when wee came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boats, for it flowes there 12. foote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes, and marched some foure or fiue myles by the greater of them, and the Shallop followed vs; at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foot thicke with snow; Master *Iones* wearied with marching, was desirous we should

Nov. 28.

should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out, wee got three fat Geese, and six Ducks to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day; our resolution was next morning to goe vp to the head of this river, for we supposed it would proue fresh water, but in the morning our resolution held not, because many liked not the hillinesse of the soyle, and badnesse of the harbour: so we turned towards the other creeke, that wee might goe over and looke for the rest of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we saw the Canow lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of Geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them, and we lanched the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, she carryed vs over by seaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill;* and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little further off, and found a Botle of oyle; wee went to another place, which we had seene before, and digged, and found more corne, *viz.* two or three Baskets full of *Indian* Wheat, and a bag of Beanes, with a good many of faire Wheat-eares; whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for seed. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we should haue done, for we know not how we should find, or meete with any of the *Indians*, except it be to doe vs a mischiefe. Also we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Iourney; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles; whilst we were in this imployment, foule weather being towards, Master *Iones* was earnest to goe abourd, but sundry of vs desired to make further discovery, and to find out the *Indians* habitations, so we sent home with

Nov. 29.

Note. God's good Providence.

with him our weakest people, and some that were sicke, and all the Corne, and 18. of vs stayed still, and lodged there that night, and desired that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs some Mattocks and Spades with them.

Nov. 30. The next morning we followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts of the *Indians* into the Woods, supposing they would haue led vs into some Towne, or houses; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad, then we lighted all our Matches, and prepared our selues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in, when the *Indians* hunt, as wee supposed; when we had marched fiue or six myles into the Woods, and could find no signes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer then any we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp, where we found, first a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Trayes, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Casacke, and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yielded a strong, but no offensiue smell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound strings, and bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knackes; we brought sundry of the prettiest things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found

no

no more Corne, nor any things els but graues: There was varietie of opinions amongst vs about the embalmed person; some thought it was an *Indian* Lord and King: others sayd, the *Indians* haue all blacke hayre, and never any was seene with browne or yellow hayre; some thought, it was a Christian of some speciall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.

Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their peeces, and hearing no body, entred the houses, and tooke out some things, and durst not stay but came againe and told vs; so some seaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a slight shot of them before. The houses were made with long yong Sapling trees, bended and both ends stucke into the ground; they were made round, like vnto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open; the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it close when they pleased; one might stand and goe vpright in them, in the midst of them were foure little trunches knockt into the ground, and small stickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to seeth; round about the fire they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer & fairer matts. In the houses we found wooden Boules, Trayes & Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of Crab shells, wrought together; also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares: there was also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some courser: some were curiously wrought with blacke and white in pretie workes, and sundry other of their houshold stuffe: we found also two or three Deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was still fresh; there was also a company of Deeres feete stuck vp in the houses, Harts hornes, and Eagles clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes,

Acornes, peeces of fish, and a peece of a broyled Hering. We found also a little silke grasse, and a little Tobacco seed, with some other seeds which wee knew not; without was sundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rushes, and other stuffe to make matts; there was thrust into an hollow tree, two or three peeces of Venison, but we thought it fitter for the Dogs then for vs: some of the best things we tooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were; so it growing towards night, and the tyde almost spent, we hasted with our things downe to the Shallop, and got abourd that night, intending to haue brought some Beades, and other things to haue left in the houses, in signe of Peace, and that we meant to truk with them, but it was not done, by meanes of our hastie comming away from Cape Cod, but so soone as we can meete conveniently with them, we will giue them full satisfaction. Thus much of our second Discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversall amongst vs, what to doe touching our aboad and setling there; some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

As first, that there was a convenient harbour for Boates, though not for Ships.

Secondly, Good Corne-ground, readie to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corne it yeelded, which would againe agree with the ground, and be naturall seed for the same.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing, for we saw daily great Whales of the best kind for oyle and bone, come close aboord our Ship, and in fayre weather swim and play about vs; there was once one when the Sun shone warme, came and lay aboue water, as if she had beene dead, for a good while together, within halfe a Musket shot of the Ship, at which two were prepared to shoote, to see whether she would stir or no; he that gaue fire first, his Musket flew in peeces, both stocke and barrell, yet thankes be to God, neither he nor any man els was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the Whale saw her time she gaue a snuffe and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthfull, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especiall reason was, that now the heart of Winter and unseasonable weather was come vpon vs, so that we could

could not goe vpon coasting and discovery, without danger of loosing men and Boat, vpon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable windes and sodaine stormes doe there arise. Also cold and wett lodging had so taynted our people, for scarce any of vs were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long in that estate, it would indanger the liues of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst vs. Againe, we had yet some Beere, Butter, Flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we should haue nothing to comfort vs in the great labour and toyle we were like to vnder-goe at the first. It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the Ship would stay with vs, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let vs shift as we could.

Others againe, vrged greatly the going to *Anguum* or *Angoum*, a place twentie leagues off to the North-wards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for Ships; better ground and better fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better seate, and it should be a great hindrance to seate where wee should remoue againe. Thirdly, The water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched vp a steepe hill: but to omit many reasons and replies vsed heere abouts; It was in the ende concluded, to make some discovery within the Bay, but in no case so farre as *Angoum*: besides, *Robert Coppin* our Pilot, made relation of a great Navigable River and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay, almost right over against *Cape Cod*, being a right line, not much aboue eight leagues distant, in which hee had beene once: and because that one of the wild men with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping Iron from them, they called it theeuish harbour. And beyond that place they were enioyned not to goe, whereupon, a Company was chosen to goe out vppon a third discovery: whilest some were imployed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistris *White* was brought to bed of a Sonne, which was called *Peregrine*. Aggawam, Ipswich.

The fift day, we through Gods mercy escaped a great danger by the foolishnes of a Boy, one of *Francis Billingtons* Sonnes, who in his Fathers absence, had got Gun-powder, and had shot off a peice

peice or two, and made squibs, and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers Cabbin, shot her off in the Cabbin, there being a little barrell of powder halfe full, scattered in and about the Cabbin, the fire being within foure foote of the bed betweene the Deckes, and many flints and Iron things about the Cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet by Gods mercy no harme done.

Dec. 6. 1620. Wednesday, the sixt of December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too fowle weather, and so they did, though it was well ore the day ere all things could be readie: So ten of our men were appointed, who were of themselues willing to vndertake it, to wit, Captaine *Standish*, Maister *Carver*, *William Bradford*, *Edward Winsloe*, *Iohn Tilley*, *Edward Tilley*, *Iohn Houland*, and three of London, *Richard Warren*, *Steeuen Hopkins* and *Edward Dotte*, and two of our Sea-men, *Iohn Alderton* and *Thomas English*; of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Master *Clarke* and Master *Copin*, the Master Gunner, and three Saylers. The narration of which Discovery, followes, penned by one of the Company.

Wednesday the sixt of December wee set out, being very cold and hard weather, wee were a long while after we launched from the ship, before we could get cleare of a sandie poynt, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and *Edward Tilley* had like to haue sounded with cold; the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death, (but hope of truking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the sandy poynt, and got vp our sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled sixe or seaven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke, at length wee mett with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy poynt, we bore vp to gaine the poynt, & found there a fayre income or rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs, and left the discovery of this

Income

Income till the next day: as we drew neare to the shore, wee espied some ten or twelue *Indians*, very busie about a blacke thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they saw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying some thing away: wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shore any where, it lay so full of flat sands: when we came to shore, we made vs a Baricado, and got fire wood, and set out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, such as it was; we saw the smoke of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or fiue myles from vs.

In the morning we devided our company, some eight in the Shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discouer this place, but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that sounded it, found a ship might ride in fiue fathom water: wee on the land found it to be a levill soyle, but none of the fruitfullest; wee saw two beckes of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the Country, but one might stride over them: we found also a great fish, called a *Grampus*, dead on the sands; they in the Shallop found two of them also in the bottome of the bay, dead in like sort; they were cast vp at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some fiue or sixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleshed like a Swine; they would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it; so we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our Shallop returned. We then directed our course along the Sea-sands, to the place where we first saw the *Indians;* when we were there, we saw it was also a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp; they cut it into long rands or peeces, about an ell long, and two handfull broad; wee found here and there a peece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for hast; this place the most were minded we should call, the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there: wee followed the tract of the *Indians* bare feete a good way on the sands, at length we saw where they strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond: as wee went to view the place, one sayd, hee thought hee saw an *Indian*-house among the trees, so went vp to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night,

Dec. 7. 1620.

night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke: so we light on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods: at length wee found where Corne had beene set, but not that yeare: Anone we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard, with yong spires foure or fiue yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground: within it was full of Graues, some bigger, and some lesse, some were also paled about, & others had like an *Indian*-house made over them, but not matted: those Graues were more sumptuous then those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them, and went our way; without the Palazado were graues also, but not so costly: from this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged we light on foure or fiue *Indian*-houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but they were vncovered, and had no matts about them, els they were like those we found at *Corne-hill*, but had not beene so lately dwelt in: there was nothing left but two or three peeces of old matts, a little sedge, also a little further we found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had beene Corne when we beganne to dig the same; we cast earth thereon againe & went our way.

All this while we saw no people, wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our Shallop, which when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and call'd them to come vnto vs, the which they did as soone as they could, for it was not yet high water. They were exceeding glad to see vs, (for they feared because they had not seene vs in so long a time) thinking we would haue kept by the shoreside; so being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our Randevous and get fire wood, which always cost vs a great deale of labour: by that time we had done, & our Shallop come to vs, it was within night, and we fed vpon such victualls as we had, and betooke vs to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, *Arme, Arme!* So we bestirred our selues and shot off a couple of Muskets, and noyse ceased; we concluded, that it was a company of Wolues or Foxes,

for

for one told vs, hee had heard such a noise in *New-found-land*. About fiue a clocke in the morning wee began to be stirring, and two or three which doubted whether their Peeces would goe off or no, made tryall of them, and shot them off, but though at nothing at all. Dec. 8. 1620.

After Prayer we prepared our selues for brek-fast, and for a journey, and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things downe to the Shallop: some sayd, it was not best to carry the Armour downe, others sayd, they would be readier; two or three sayd, they would not carry theirs, till they went themselues, but mistrusting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they layd the things downe vpon the shore, & came vp to brek-fast. Anone, all vpon a sudden, we heard a great & strange cry, which we knew to be the same voyces, though they varied their notes. One of our company being abroad came running in, and cryed, *They are men, Indians, Indians;* and withall, their arrowes came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recover their armes, as by the good Providence of God they did. In the meane time, Captaine *Miles Standish*, having a snaphance ready, made a shot, and after him another; after they two had shot, other of vs were ready, but he wisht vs not to shoot, till we could take ayme, for we knew not what need we should haue, & there were foure onely of vs, which had their armes there readie, and stood before the open side of our Baricado, which was first assaulted; they thought it best to defend it, least the enemie should take it and our stuffe, and so haue the more vantage against vs: our care was no lesse for the Shallop, but we hoped all the rest would defend it; we called vnto them to know how it was with them, and they answered, Well, Well, every one, and be of good courage: we heard three of their Peeces goe off, and the rest called for a fire-brand to light their matches; one tooke a log out of the fire on his shoulder and went and carried it vnto them, which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, *Woath woach ha ha hach woach:* our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to assault them. Our first Combat with the *Indians*.

There

There was a lustie man and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to bee their Captaine, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot of vs, and there let his arrowes fly at vs; hee was seene to shoote three arrowes, which were all avoyded, for he at whom the first arrow was aymed, saw it, and stooped downe and it flew over him, the rest were avoyded also: he stood three shots of a Musket, at length one tooke as he sayd full ayme at him, after which he gaue an extraordinary cry and away they went all; wee followed them about a quarter of a mile, but wee left sixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were carefull of our businesse: then wee shouted all together two severall times, and shot off a couple of muskets and so returned: this wee did that they might see wee were not afrayd of them nor discouraged.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish our Enemies and giue vs deli-
Dec. 8. 1620. verance: by their noyse we could not guesse that they were less then thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more; yet in the dark of the morning, wee could not so well discerne them among the trees, as they could see vs by our fire side: we tooke vp 18. of their arrowes which we haue sent to *England* by Master *Iones*, some whereof were headed with brasse, others with Harts horne, & others with Eagles clawes: many more no doubt were shot, or these we found, were almost covered with leaues: yet by the especiall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs, though many came close by vs, and on every side of vs, and some coates which hung vp in our Baricado, were shot through and through. So after wee had given God thankes for our deliverance, wee tooke our Shallop and went on our iourney, and called this place, *The first Encounter*: from hence we intended to haue sayled to the aforesayd theeuish Harbour, if wee found no convenient Harbour by the way: having the wind good, we sayled all that day along the Coast about 15. leagues, but saw neither River nor Creeke to put into: after we had sayled an houre or two, it began to snow and raine, and to be bad weather; about the midst of the afternoone, the winde increased and the Seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steere no longer with it, but two men with much adoe were faine to serue with a couple of Oares; the Seas were growne so great, that we were much troubled and in great danger,

and

and night grew on: Anon Master *Coppin* bad vs be of good cheere, he saw the Harbour; as we drew neare, the gale being stiffe, and we bearing great sayle to get in, split our Mast in 3. peices, and were like to haue cast away our Shallop, yet by Gods mercy recovering our selues, wee had the floud with vs, and struck into the Harbour.

Now he that thought that had beene the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of vs had beene before, and comming into the Harbour, he that was our Pilot did beare vp Northward, which if we had continued wee had beene cast away; yet still the Lord kept vs, and we bare vp for an Iland before vs, and recovering of that Iland, being compassed about with many Rocks, and darke night growing vpon vs, it pleased the Divine providence that we fell vpon a place of sandy ground, where our Shallop did ride safe and secure all that night, and comming vpon a strange Iland kept our watch all night in the raine vpon that Iland: and in the morning we marched about it, & found no Inhabitants at all, and here wee made our Randevous all that day, being Saturday. Saturday, Dec. 9.

10. of December, on the Sabboth day wee rested, and on Munday we sounded the harbour, and found it a very good Harbour for our shipping; we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes, a place very good for scituation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts. Monday, Dec. 11, 1620. Forefathers' Day.

On the fifteenth day, we waighed Anchor, to go to the place we had discovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land, we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome againe towards *Cape Cod*, our course lying West; and the wind was at North west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday the 16. day, the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came safely into a safe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, so as if we had beene letted but a little, we had gone backe to *Cape Cod*. This Harbour is a Bay greater than *Cape Cod*, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay, 2. fine Hands vninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood, Okes, Pines, Wal-nut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other trees which wee know not; This Bay is a most hopefull Friday, Dec. 15.

place,

place, innumerable store of fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but bee of fish in their seasons: Skote, Cod, Turbot, and Herring, wee haue tasted of; abundance of Musles the greatest & best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooke.

Dec. 18, 1620. Munday the 18. day, we went a land, manned with the Maister of the Ship, and 3. or 4. of the Saylers; we marched along the coast in the woods, some 7. or 8. mile, but saw not an *Indian* nor an *Indian* house, only we found where formerly, had beene some Inhabitants,and where they had planted their corne: we found not any Navigable River, but 4. or 5. small running brookes of very sweet fresh water, that all run into the Sea: The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mold and fat in some places, 2. or 3. great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts, Beech, Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp, Sasifras, in abundance, & Vines euery where, Cherry trees, Plum trees, and many other which we know not; many kinds of hearbes, we found heere in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, Yarow, Caruell, Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-cresses, great store of Leekes, and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe; here is sand, gravell, and excellent clay no better in the Worlde, excellent for pots, and will wash like sope, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fish; that night many being weary with marching, wee went abourd againe.

Dec. 19. 1620. The next morning being Tuesday the 19. of December, wee went againe to discover further; some went on Land, and some in the Shallop; the land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three English myles, a very pleasant river; at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tonne may goe vp, but at low water scarce our Shallop could passe: this place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so farre from our fishing our principall profit, and so incompassed with woods, that we should bee in much danger of the Salvages, and our number being so little, and so much ground to cleare, so as wee thought good to quit and cleare that place, till we were of more strength; some of vs hauing a good minde for safety to plant

plant in the greater Ile, wee crossed the Bay which there is fiue or sixe myles ouer, and found the Ile about a myle and a halfe, or two myles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but 2. or 3. pits, that we doubted of fresh water in Summer, and so full of wood, as we could hardly cleare so much as to serue vs for Corne, besides wee iudged it colde for our Corne, and some part very rockie, yet diuers thought of it as a place defensible, and of great securitie.

That night we returned againe a ship boord, with resolution the next morning to setle on some of those places. So in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to goe presently ashore againe, and to take a better view of two places, which wee thought most fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially, our Beere, and it being now the 19. of *December*. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and there is a very sweet brooke runnes vnder the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this brooke much good fish in their seasons: on the further side of the river also much Corne ground cleared: in one field is a great hill, on which wee poynt to make a plat-forme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about; from thence we may see into the *Bay*, and farre into the Sea, and we may see thence *Cape Cod:* our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an English myle, but there is enough so farre off; what people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue seene none, so there we made our Randevous, and a place for some of our people about twentie, resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses: but the next morning, being Thursday the 21. of *December*, it was stormie and wett, that we could not goe ashore, and those that remained there all night could doe nothing, but were wet, not having dailight enough to make them a sufficient court of gard, to keepe

them dry. All that night it blew and rayned extreamely; it was so tempestuous, that the Shallop could not goe on land so soone as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11. a Clocke the Shallop went off with much adoe with provision, but could not returne it blew so strong, and was such foule weather, that we were forced to let fall our Anchor, and ride with three Anchors an head.

Friday the 22. the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboord: this morning Good wife *Alderton* was delivered of a sonne, but dead borne.

Saturday the 23. so many of vs as could, went on shore, felled and carried tymber, to provide themselues stuffe for building.

Sunday the 24. our people on shore heard a cry of some Savages (as they thought) which caused an Alarm, and to stand on their gard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.

Munday the 25. day, we went on shore, some to fell tymber, some to saw, some to riue, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day, but towards night some as they were at worke, heard a noyse of some *Indians*, which caused vs all to goe to our Muskets, but we heard no further, so we came aboord againe, and left some twentie to keepe the court of gard; that night we had a sore storme of winde and rayne.

Munday the 25. being Christmas day, we began to drinke water aboord, but at night the Master caused vs to haue some Beere, and so on boord we had diverse times now and then some Beere, but on shore none at all.

Tuesday the 26. it was foule weather, that we could not goe ashore.

Wednesday the 27. we went to worke againe.

Thursday the 28. of *December*, so many as could went to worke on the hill, where we purposed to build our platforme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine, and the *Bay*, and from whence we may see farre into the sea, and might be easier impayled, having two rowes of houses and a faire streete. So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and first, we tooke notice how many Families they were, willing all single men that had no wiues to ioyne with some Familie, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses, which was done,

and

and we reduced them to 19. Families; to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person halfe a pole in breadth, and three in length, and so Lots were cast where euery man should lie, which was done, and staked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at Cape *Cod* had brought much weakenes amongst vs, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Fryday and Saturday, we fitted our selues for our labour, but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rayne and wett that day, being very stormie and cold; we saw great smokes of fire made by the *Indians* about six or seaven myles from vs as we conjectured.

Munday the first of *Ianuary*, we went betimes to worke; we were much hindred in lying so farre off from the Land, and faine to goe as the tyde served, that we lost much time, for our Ship drew so much water, that she lay a myle and almost a halfe off, though a ship of seventie or eightie tun at high water may come to the shore. January 1, 1621. Anchorage of the Mayflower.

Wednesday the third of *Ianuary*, some of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the *Indians*, and were at their Corne fields, yet saw none of the Savages, nor had seene any of them since wee came to this Bay.

Thursday the fourth of *Ianuary*, Captaine *Miles Standish* with foure or fiue more, went to see if they could meet with any of the Savages in that place where the fires were made; they went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meete with any; as they came home, they shot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be discerned from Mutton.

Fryday the fifth of *Ianuary*, one of the Saylers found aline vpon the shore an Hering, which the Master had to his supper, which put vs in hope of fish, but as yet we had got but one Cod; we wanted small hookes.

Saturday the sixt of *Ianuary*, Master *Marten* was very sicke, and to our iudgement, no hope of Life, so Master *Carver* was sent

to

for to come abourd to speake with him about his accompts, who came the next morning.

Munday the eight day of *Ianuary*, was a very fayre day, and we went betimes to worke: master *Iones* sent the Shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got; they had a greate storme at Sea, and were in some danger, at night they returned with three greate Seales, and an excellent good Cod, which did assure vs that we should haue plentie of fish shortly.

This day, *Francis Billington*, having the weeke before seene from the top of a tree on a hie hill, a great sea as he thought, went with one of the Masters mates to see it: they went three myles, and then came to a great water, devided into two great Lakes, the bigger of them fiue or sixe myles in circuit, and in it an Ile of a Cable length square, the other three miles in compasse; in their estimation they are fine fresh water, full of fish, and foule; a brooke issues from it, it will be an excellent helpe for vs in time. They found seaven or eight *Indian* houses, but not lately inhabited; when they saw the houses they were in some feare, for they were but two persons and one peece.

Tuesday the 9. Ianuary, was a reasonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houses for more safety: we devided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted, wee agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course, men would make more hast than working in common; the common house, in which for the first, we made our Rendevous, being neere finished wanted onely couering, it being about 20. foote square: some should make morter, and some gather thatch, so that in foure days halfe of it was thatched; frost and foule weather hindred vs much; this time of the yeare seldome could wee worke halfe the weeke.

Thursday the eleuenth, *William Bradford* being at worke, (for it was a faire day) was vehemently taken with a griefe and paine, and so shot to his huckle-bone. It was doubted that he would haue instantly dyed: hee got colde in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some paine in his anckles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time through Gods mercie in the vse of meanes recovered.

Friday

Friday the 12. we went to worke, but about noone, it began to raine, that it forced vs to giue over worke. January 12, 1621.

This day, two of our people put vs in great sorrow and care. There was 4. sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, *Iohn Goodman* and *Peter Browne*, having cut thatch all the fore-noone, went to a further place, and willed the other two, to binde vp that which was cut and to follow them; so they did, being about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation: but when the two came after, they could not finde them, nor heare any thing of them at all, though they hallowed and shouted as loud as they could; so they returned to the Company and told them of it: whereupon Master *Carver* & three or foure more went to seek them, but could heare nothing of them, so they returning, sent more, but that night they could heare nothing at all of them: the next day they armed 10. or 12. men out, verily thinking the *Indians* had surprised them, they went seeking 7. or 8. miles, but could neither see nor heare any thing at all, so they returned with much discomfort to us all. These two that were missed, at dinner time tooke their meate in their hands, and would goe walke and refresh themselues; so going a litle off they finde a lake of water, and having a great Mastiffe bitch with them and a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deere, the Dogs chased him, and they followed so farre as they lost themselues, and could not finde the way backe; they wandred all that after-noone being wett, and at night it did freeze and snow; they were slenderly apparelled and had no weapons but each one his Cicle, nor any victuals; they ranged vp and downe and could finde none of the Salvages habitations; when it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could finde neither harbour nor meate, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the Element their covering: and another thing did very much terrifie them, they heard as they thought two Lyons roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very nere them; so not knowing what to do, they resolved to climbe vp into a tree as their safest refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; so they stoode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp; the bitch they were faine to hold by

the

the necke, for shee would haue beene gone to the Lyon ; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wilde Beastes came not : so they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night, it was an extreame colde night. So soone as it was light they trauailed againe, passing by many lakes and brookes and woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the space of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even. In the after-noone, it pleased God from an high Hill they discovered the two Iles in the Bay, and so that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travaile and want of victuals, and almost famished with colde. *Iohn Goodman* was faine to haue his shooes cut off his feete they were so swelled with colde, and it was a long while after, ere he was able to goe ; those on the shore were much comforted at their returne, but they on ship-boord were grieved as deeming them lost ; but the next day being the 14. of Ianuary, in the morning about sixe of the cloeke, the winde being very great, they on ship-boord spied their great new Randevous on fire, which was to them a new discomfort, fearing because of the supposed losse of the men, that the Salvages had fiered them, neither could they presently goe to them for want of water, but after 3. quarters of an houre they went, as they had purposed the day before to keepe the Sabboth on shore, because now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the returne of the 2. men, and that the house was fiered occasionally by a sparke that flew into the thatch, which instantly burned it all vp, but the roofe stood and little hurt ; the most losse was Maister *Carvers* and *William Bradfords*, who then lay sicke in bed, and if they had not risen with good speede, had beene blowne vp with powder : but through Gods mercy they had no harme ; the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but blessed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the 15. day, it rayned much all day, that they on ship-boord could not goe on shore, nor they on shore doe any labour but were all wet.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very faire Sun-shinie dayes, as if it had beene in Aprill, and our people so many as were in health wrought chearefully.

The

The 19. day, we resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provision in, of which some were alreadie set on shore, but at noone it rayned, that we could not worke. This day in the evening, *Iohn Goodman* went abroad to vse his lame feete, that were pittifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spannell with him; a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolues ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for succour; he had nothing in his hand but tooke vp a sticke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came againe: he got a paile bord in his hand, and they sat both on their tayles, grinning at him, a good while, and went their way, and left him.

Saturday 20. we made vp our Shed for our common goods.

Sunday the 21. we kept our meeting on Land.

Munday the 22. was a faire day, we wrought on our houses, and in the after-noone carried vp our hogsheads of meale to our common store-house.

The rest of the weeke we followed our businesse likewise.

Munday the 29. in the morning cold frost and sleete, but after reasonable fayre; both the long Boate and the Shallop brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and Wednesday 30. and 31. of *Ianuary*, cold frosty weather and sleete, that we could not worke: in the morning the Master and others saw two Savages, that had beene on the Hand nere our Ship, what they came for wee could not tell, they were going so farre backe againe before they were descried, that we could not speake with them.

Sunday the 4. of *February*, was very wett and rainie, with the greatest gusts of winde that ever we had since wee came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because our Ship was light, the goods taken out, and she vnballased; and it caused much daubing of our houses to fall downe.

Fryday the 9. still the cold weather continued, that wee could doe little worke. That after-noone our little house for our sicke people was set on fire by a sparke that kindled in the roofe, but no great harme was done. That evening the master going ashore, killed fiue Geese, which he friendly distributed among the sicke people; he found also a good Deere killed, the Savages had cut

off the hornes, and a Wolfe was eating of him; how he came there we could not conceiue.

Friday the 16. day, was a faire day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost. This day after-noone one of our people being a fouling, and having taken a stand by a creeke side in the Reeds, about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation, there came by him twelue *Indians*, marching towards our Plantation, & in the woods he heard the noyse of many more. He lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he could he went home & gaue the Alarm; so the people abroad in the woods returned & armed themselues, but saw none of them, onely toward the euening they made a great fire, about the place where they were first discovered: Captaine *Miles Standish*, and *Francis Cooke*, being at worke in the Woods, comming home, left their tooles behind them, but before they returned, their tooles were taken away by the Savages. This comming of the Savages gaue vs occasion to keepe more strict watch, and to make our peeces and furniture readie, which by the moysture and rayne were out of temper.

Saturday the 17. day, in the morning we called a meeting for the establishing of military Orders amongst our selues, and we chose *Miles Standish* our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres: and as we were in consultation here abouts, two Savages presented themselues vpon the top of an hill, over against our Plantation, about a quarter of a myle and lesse, and made signes vnto vs to come vnto them; we likewise made signes vnto them to come to vs, whereupon we armed our selues, and stood readie, and sent two over the brooke towards them, to wit, Captaine *Standish* and *Steven Hopkins*, who went towards them: onely one of them had a Musket, which they layd downe on the ground in their sight, in signe of peace, and to parley with them, but the Savages would not tarry their comming; a noyse of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in sight. This caused vs to plant our great Ordinances in places most convenient.

Wednesday the 21. of *February*, the master came on shore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a *Minion*, and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with

with another Peece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller and two bases; he brought with him a very fat Goose to eate with vs, and we had a fat Crane, and a Mallerd, and a dry'd neats-tongue, and so wee were kindly and friendly together.

Saturday the third of *March*, the winde was South, the morning mistie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather; the Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the first wee heard in that Countrey, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday the seaventh of *March*, the wind was full East, cold, but faire; that day Master *Carver* with fiue other went to the great Ponds, which seeme to be excellent fishing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they saw none; amongst other foule, they saw one a milke white foule, with a very blacke head: this day some garden seeds were sowen.

Fryday the 16. a fayre warme day towards; this morning we determined to conclude of the military Orders, which we had began to consider of before, but were interrupted by the Savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilst we were busied here about, we were interrupted againe, for there presented himself a *Savage*, which caused an Alarm; he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would, out of his boldnesse. Hee saluted vs in English, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned some broken English amongst the English men that came to fish at *Monchiggon*, and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, & Masters, that vsually come. He was a man free in speech, so farre as he could expresse his minde, and of a seemely carriage; we questioned him of many things; he was the first *Savage* we could meete withall; he sayd he was not of these parts, but of *Moraltiggon*, and one of the *Sagamores* or *Lords* thereof, and had beene 8. moneths in these parts, it lying hence a dayes sayle with a great wind, and fiue dayes by land; he discoursed of the whole Country, and of every Province, and of their *Sagamores*, and their number of men, and strength; the wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horsemans coat about

him, for he was starke naked, onely a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more ; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely short before, none on his face at all ; he asked some beere, but we gaue him strong water, and bisket, and butter, and cheese, & pudding, and a peece of a mallerd, all which he liked well, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the English ; he told vs the place where we now liue, is called, *Patuxet*, and that about foure yeares agoe, all the Inhabitants dyed of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor childe remaining, as indeed we haue found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime vnto it ; all the after-noone we spent in communication with him, we would gladly haue beene rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night ; then we thought to carry him on ship-boord, wherewith he was well content, and went into the Shallop, but the winde was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe: we lodged him that night at *Steven Hopkins* house, and watched him; the next day he went away backe to the *Masasoits*, from whence he sayd he came, who are our next bordering neighbours: they are sixtie strong, as he sayth: the *Nausites* are as neere South-east of them, and are a hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountred, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about eyght moneths agoe slew three English men, and two more hardly escaped by flight to *Monhiggon*; they were Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* his men, as this Savage told vs, as he did likewise of the *Huggerie*, that is, *Fight*, that our discoverers had with the *Nausites*, & of our tooles that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise, we would right our selues. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one *Hunt*, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them vnder colour of truking with them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and seaven men from the *Nausites*, and carried them away, and sold them for slaues, like a wretched man (for 20. pounds a man) that cares not what mischiefe he doth for his profit.

Saturday

Saturday in the morning we dismissed the Salvage, and gaue him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; he promised within a night or two to come againe, and to bring with him some of the *Massasoyts* our neighbours, with such Beuers skins as they had to trucke with vs.

Saturday and Sunday reasonable fayre dayes. On this day came againe the Savage, and brought with him fiue other tall proper men; they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme; they had most of them long hosen vp to their groynes, close made; and aboue their groynes to their wast another leather; they were altogether like the *Irish*-trouses; they are of complexion like our English Gipseys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to their shoulders, onely cut before, some trussed vp before with a feather, broad wise, like a fanne, another a fox tayle hanging out: these left (according to our charge giuen him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne. We gaue them entertaynement as we thought was fitting them, they did eate liberally of our English victuals, they made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amitie; they sung & danced after their maner like Anticks; they brought with them in a thing like a Bow-case (which the principall of them had about his wast) a little of their Corne pownded to Powder, which put to a little water they eate; he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke but when he listed; some of them had their faces paynted blacke, from the forehead to the chin, foure or fiue fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked; they brought three or foure skins, but we would not trucke with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leaue these behind them, though we were not willing they should, and they brought vs all our tools againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens absence, so because of the day we dismissed them so soone as we could. But *Samoset* our first acquaintance, eyther was sicke, or fayned himselfe so, and would not goe with them and stayed with vs till Wednesday morning: Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words, and we gaue him an hat, a

payre

payre of stockings and shooes, a shirt, and a peece of cloth to tie about his wast.

The Sabboth day, when we sent them from vs, wee gaue every one of them some trifles, especially, the principall of them; we carried them along with our Armes to the place where they left their Bowes and Arrowes, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to slinke away, but that the other called them. When they tooke their Arrowes, we bad them farewell, and they were glad, and so with many thankes giuen vs they departed, with promise they would come againe.

Munday and Tuesday proved fayre dayes, we digged our grounds, and sowed our garden seeds.

Wednesday a fine warme day, we sent away *Samoset*.

That day we had againe a meeting, to conclude of lawes and orders for our selues, and to confirme those Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twise broken off by the Savages comming; but so we were againe the third time; for after we had beene an houre together, on the top of the hill over against vs two or three Savages presented themselues, that made semblance of daring vs, as we thought; so Captaine *Standish* with another, with their Muskets went over to them, with two of the masters mates that follow them without Armes, having two Muskets with them; they whetted and rubbed their Arrowes and Strings, and made shew of defiance, but when our men drew nere them, they ranne away. Thus we were againe interrupted by them; this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long sicke of the scurvey, to fit our Shallop, to fetch all from aboord.

Thursday the 22. of *March*, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met againe about our publique businesse, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but *Samoset* came againe, and *Squanto*, the onely natiue of *Patuxat*, where we now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captines that by *Hunt* were carried away, and had beene in *England* & dwelt in *Cornehill* with master *Iohn Slanie* a Marchant, and could speake a little English, with three others, and they brought with them some few skinnes to trucke, and some red Herrings newly taken and dryed, but not salted, and signified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore *Masasoyt* was

was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over against vs, and had in his trayne sixtie men, that we could well behold them, and they vs: we were not willing to send our governour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, so *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winsloe*, to know his mind, and to signifie the mind and will of our governour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We sent to the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with a Iewell at it. To *Quadequina* we sent likewise a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Messenger made a speech vnto him, that King IAMES saluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Governour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: he liked well of the speech and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well expresse it; after he had eaten and drunke himselfe, and giuen the rest to his company, he looked vpon our messengers sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our messenger shewed his vnwillingnes to part with it: In the end he left him in the custodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came over the brooke, and some twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept six or seaven as hostages for our messenger; Captaine *Standish* and master *Williamson* met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cushions, then instantly came our Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and some few Musketiers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the King kissed him, and so they sat downe. The Governour called for some strong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after; he called for a little

little fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

The agreements of peace between vs and Massasoyt.

1. That neyther he nor any of his should iniure or doe hurt to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our Tooles were taken away when our people were at worke, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, wee would doe the like to them.

4. If any did vniustly warre against him, we would ayde him; If any did warre against vs, he should ayde vs.

5. He should send to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong vs, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of Peace.

6. That when their men came to vs, they should leaue their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee should doe our Peeces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King IAMES would esteeme of him as his friend and Alie: all which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers; all the while he sat by the Governour he trembled for feare: In his person he is a very lustie man, in his best yeares, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech: In his Attyre little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his necke, and at it behinde his necke, hangs a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke and gaue us to drinke; his face was paynted with a sad red like murry, and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greasily: All his followers likewise, were in their faces, in part or in whole painted, some blacke, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses, and other Antick workes, some had skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall, all men in appearance: so after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed: we diligently keeping our hostages, wee expected our messengers comming, but anon word was brought vs, that *Quaddequina* was comming, and our messenger was stayed till his returne, who presently came and a troupe with him,

so

so likewise wee entertained him, and convayed him to the place prepared; he was very fearefull of our peeces, and made signes of dislike, that they should be carried away, whereupon Commandement was given, they should be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemely countenance, and he did kindely like of our entertainement, so we convayed him likewise as wee did the King, but diuers of their people stayed still; when hee was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would haue stayed all night, but wee would not suffer it: one thing I forgot, the King had in his bosome hanging in a string, a great long knife; hee marveiled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could; *Samoset* and *Squanto*, they stayed al night with vs and the King and al his men lay all night in the woods, not aboue halfe an English myle from vs, and all their wiues and women with them: they sayd that within 8. or 9. dayes, they would come and set corne on the other side of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs: That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning divers of their people came over to vs, hoping to get some victuales as wee imagined, some of them told vs the King would haue some of vs come see him; Captaine *Standish* and *Isaac Alderton* went venterously, who were welcomned of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts, and some Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceiue, but that he is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue seene our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at worke and fowling, when as they offered them no harme as they might easily haue done, and especially because hee hath a potent Adversary the *Narowhiganscis*, that are at warre with him, against whom hee thinks wee may be some strength to him, for our peeces are terrible vnto them; this morning, they stayed till ten or eleuen of the Clocke, and our Governour bid them send the Kings kettle, and filled it full of pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

Fryday was a very faire day; *Samoset* and *Squanto* still remained with vs, *Squanto* went at noone to fish for Eeles; at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat & sweet, March 23, 1621.

sweet; he trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his hands without any other instrument.

This day we proceeded on with our common businesse, from which we had been so often hindred by the Salvages comming, and concluded both of Military orders, and of some Lawes and Orders as wee thought behoofefull for our present estate, and condition, and did likewise choose our Governour for this yeare, which was Master *Iohn Carver* a man well approoved amongst vs.

THE JOURNEY TO PACKANOKIK.

The preceding journal ends March 23d, 1621, with a record of the last business transacted that day, in the re-election of Mr. Carver for governor. It was little more than a fortnight after this, when the governor, so beloved and venerated by the colony, suddenly, in the midst of his work, sickened and died. They then chose Mr Bradford governor, and Mr. Isaac Allerton as his assistant.

The next grand colonial business is that of the embassy to Massasoit at Packanokik, the account of which, by one of the ambassadors, follows immediately upon the journal. It will be seen as stated in the account of their proceedings that they set forward the tenth of June, a date which is demonstrated to be a mistake, by comparison with the after record, and with the journal of Governor Bradford, as given by Mr. Prince. It may have been a mistake of the printers, or of Mr. Morton. At any rate the account of the journey, as will be seen on examination, dating back from Saturday, the day on which they returned to Plymouth, shows that it must have commenced on Tuesday morning, occupying from Tuesday morning till Saturday night. This Tuesday, according to Prince's Chronology of the period, gathered from Governor Bradford's History and Register, must have been July 3d, 1621.

The reader has already been introduced to "the great King Massasoit," in the previous account of the treaty of peace between him and Governor Bradford. The interview was brought about and managed through the friendship of Samoset and Squanto, especially the last, who perhaps had taught Samoset the use of that English word *welcome*, with which the savage man, in such strange unexpected kindness, had saluted the civilized. The treaty with Massasoit was a simple and primitive league of peace

and friendship, and nothing had occurred for three months to interrupt it; and now the cause, in part, of this new ambassage was the desire of the Pilgrims to make just restitution for the taking of the corn which they had discovered and appropriated on their first landing at Cape Cod, intending at that time to pay for it as soon as they could find the owner. Massasoit, the great Sagamore, seems to have been a friendly man, and he had great cause to be thankful for the friendship of the Pilgrims, as well as they for his; but in the first interview he seems to have made but a "greasy" impression upon the spectators, though "an able body, grave of countenance and spare of speech." Quadequina, his brother, is presented as "a very proper, tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance." The warlike tribe of the Narragansetts were enemies of Massasoit, for which reason he was the more glad to keep friendship with the Pilgrims, "their pieces being terrible unto them." Massasoit's sovereignty ran over a wide extent of country in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, in some places from bay to bay. He was the "sachem of the tribe possessing the country north of Narragansett Bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton."* The present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, were under Massasoit. Namasket, the first town of his sovereignty through which the ambassadors passed, was the region of Middleborough and Bridgewater. Packanokik is described by Governor Bradford as about forty miles westward from Plymouth; "sometimes called Sowams, and sometimes Pacanokik," says Mr. Prince, "which I suppose is afterwards called Mount Hope, and since named Bristol."†

Thus much for the characters and localities in the following narrative, which itself is one of the most interesting in the little collection of authentic and extraordinary pictures of savage and colonial life presented in this volume.

* Bancroft's Hist. United States. Vol. i. p. 317.

† Prince's New England Chronology. Vol. i. p. 102.

A IOVRNEY TO *PACKANOKIK*, The Habitation of the Great King *MASSASOYT*.

As also our Message, the *Answere and intertainement* were had of HIM.

IT seemed good to the Company for many considerations to send some amongst them to *Massasoyt*, the greatest Commander amongst the Savages, bordering about vs; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the Country, prevent abuses in their disorderly comming vnto vs, make satisfaction for some conceived iniuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendship betweene them and vs. For these, and the like ends, it pleased the Governour to make choice of *Steven Hopkins*, & *Edward Winsloe* to goe vnto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reason of a Savage, called *Tisquantum* (that could speake English) comming vnto vs; with all expedition provided a Horse-mans coat, of red Cotton, and laced with a slight lace for a present, that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them. The Message was as followeth; That forasmuch as his subiects came often and without feare, vpon all occasions amongst vs, so wee were now come vnto him, and in witnesse of the loue and good will the English beare vnto him, the Governour hath sent him a coat, desiring that the Peace and Amitie that was betweene them and vs might be continued, not that we feared them, but because we intended not to iniure any, desiring to liue peaceably; and as with all men, so especially with them our neerest neighbours. But whereas his people came very often,

and very many together vnto vs, bringing for the most part their wiues and children with them, they were well come; yet we being but strangers as yet at *Patuxet, alias New Plimmoth,* and not knowing how our Corne might prosper, we could no longer giue them such entertainment as we had done, and as we desired still to doe: yet if he would be pleased to come himselfe, or any speciall friend of his desired to see vs, comming from him they should be wellcomē; and to the end wee might know them from others, our Governour had sent him a copper Chayne, desiring if any Messenger should come from him to vs, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and give credite to his Message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as haue skins, should bring them to vs, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing vs with them. And whereas at our first arrivall at *Paomet* (called by vs *Cape Cod*) we found there Corne buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but some graues of dead new buryed, tooke the Corne, resolving if ever we could heare of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet since we vnderstand the owners thereof were fled for feare of vs, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantitie of corne, English meale, or any other Commodities we had to pleasure them withall; requesting him that some one of his men might signifie so much vnto them, and wee would content him for his paines. And last of all, our Gouernour requested one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange some of their Corne for seede with us, that we might make tryall which best agreed with the soyle where we liue.

With these presents and message we set forward the tenth Iune, about 9. a clocke in the Morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at *Namaschet,* a Towne vnder *Massasoyt,* and conceived by vs to bee very neere, because the Inhabitants flocked so thicke vpon every slight occasion amongst vs: but wee found it to bee some fifteene English myles. On the way we found some ten or twelue men women and children, which had pestered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easiliest to be got, there they liue, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither: & now returned

turned with vs to *Namaschet*. Thither we came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the best manner they could, giving vs a kinde of bread called by them *Maizium*, and the spawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gaue vs spoones to eate them, with these they boyled mustie Acorns, but of the Shads we eate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoote at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne by them, who shooting some fourescore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this *Tisquantum* told vs we should hardly in one day reach *Pakanokick*, moving vs to goe some 8. myles further, where we should finde more store and better victuals then there: Being willing to hasten our Iourney we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the *Namascheucks* (they so calling the men of *Namaschet*) fishing vppon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse. These welcommed vs also, gaue vs of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should haue enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes: for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode; vpon it are, and haue beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleered: Thousands of men have lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long since: and pitty it was and is to see, so many goodly fieldes, & so well seated, without men to dresse and manure the same. Vppon this River dwelleth *Massasoyt:* It commeth into the Sea at the *Narrohiganset* Bay, where the French men so much vse. A shipp may goe many myles vp it, as the Salvages report, and a shallop to the head of it: but so farre as wee saw, wee are sure a Shallop may.

But to returne to our Iourney: The next morning wee brake our fast, tooke our leaue and departed, being then accompanied with some sixe Salvages, having gone about sixe myles by the River side, at a knowne shole place, it beeing low water, they spake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee must wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the vallour and courrage of some of the Salvages,

Salvages, on the opposite side of the river, for there were remaining aliue only 2. men, both aged, especially the one being aboue threescoure; These two espying a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly & low in the grasse to meete vs at the banck, where with shrill voyces and great courage standing charged vppon vs with their bowes, they demaunded what we were, supposing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcommed vs with such foode as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beades on them. Thus farre wee are sure the Tide ebs and flowes.

Having here againe refreshed our selves, we proceeded in our Iourney, the weather being very hote for travell, yet the Country so well watered that a man could scarce be drie, but he should haue a spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside smal Rivers in abundance: But the Salvages will not willingly drinke, but at a spring head. When wee came to any small Brooke where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry vs through of their owne accords, also fearing wee were or would be weary, offered to carry our peeces, also if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should haue them carried: and as the one of them had found more speciall kindnesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Salvage from the other, so they shewed their thankefulnesse accordingly in affording vs all helpe, and furtherance in the Iourney.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof, much ground was cleare, saue of weedes which grewe higher then our heads. There is much good Timber both Oake, Waltnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chessnut-trees. The Country in respect of the lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly, like many places in England. In some places its very rockie both aboue ground and in it: And though the Countrey bee wilde and over-growne with woods, yet the trees stand not thicke, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on at length, one of the Company an *Indian* espied a man, and told the rest of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told vs that if they were *Narrohigganset* men they would

not

not trust them, whereat, we called for our peeces and bid them not to feare; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they hayling him, hee prooved a friend, and had onely two women with him: their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottels, so that we dranke with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had beene at Randevow by the salt water, and their baskets were full of rosted Crab fishes, and other dryed shell fish, of which they gaue vs, and wee eate and dranke with them: and gaue each of the women a string of Beades, and departed.

After wee came to a Towne of *Massasoyts*, where we eat Oysters and other fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*, but *Massasoyt* was not at home, there we stayed, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide *Tisquantum* requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our peeces, but one of vs going about to charge his peece, the women and children through feare to see him take vpp his piece, ran away, and could not bee pacified, till hee layd it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter.

Massasoyt being come, wee discharged our Peeces, and saluted him, who after their manner kindly wellcommed vs, and tooke vs into his house, and set vs downe by him, where having delivered our forasayd Message, and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so brauely attyred.

For answere to our Message, he told vs we were well-come, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betweene him & vs: and for his men they should no more pester vs as they had done: Also, that he would send to *Paomet*, and would help vs with Corne for seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered neere to him, to whom he turned himselfe, and made a great Speech; they sometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he sayd. The meaning whereof was (as farre as we could learne) thus; Was not he *Massasoyt* Commander of the Countrey about them? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it? and

should

should they not bring their skins vnto vs? To which they answered, they were his & would be at peace with vs, and bring their skins to vs. After this manner, he named at least thirtie places, and their answere was as aforesayd to every one: so that as it was delightfull, it was tedious vnto vs.

This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to discoursing of *England*, & of the Kings Maiestie, marvayling that he would liue without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding vs not to suffer them to come to *Narrohiganset*, for it was King IAMES his Countrey, and he also was King IAMES his man. Late it grew, but victualls he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest: he layd vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being onely planeks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin Mat vpon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs; so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our iourney.

The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachmis, or petty Governours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for skins and kniues. There we challenged them to shoote with them for skins: but they durst not: onely they desired to see one of vs shoote at a marke, who shooting with Haile-shot, they wondred to see the marke so full of holes. About one a clocke, *Massasoyt* brought two fishes that he had shot, they were like Breame but three times so bigge, and better meate. These being boyled, there were at least fortie looked for share in them, the most eate of them: This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought a Partridge, we had taken our iourney fasting: Very importunate he was to haue vs stay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabboth at home: and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous singing, (for they vse to sing themselues asleepe) lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if wee should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Fryday morning

morning before Sun-rising, we tooke our leaue and departed, *Massasoyt* being both grieved and ashamed, that he could no better entertaine vs: and retaining *Tisquantum* to send from place to place to procure trucke for vs, and appointing another, called *Tokamahamon* in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occasions.

At this towne of *Massasoyts*, where we before eate, wee were againe refreshed with a little fish; and bought about a handfull of Meale of their parched Corne, which was very precious at that time of the yeere, and a small string of dryed shell-fish, as big as Oysters. The latter we gaue to the sixe Savages that accompanied vs, keeping the Meale for our selues; when we dranke, we eate each a spoonefull of it with a Pipe of Tobacco, in stead of other victuals; and of this also we could not but giue them, so long as it lasted. Fiue myles they led vs to a house out of the way in hope of victualls: but we found no body there, and so were but worse able to returne home. That night we reached to the wire where we lay before, but the *Namaschcucks* were returned: so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the Savages had shot a Shad in the water, and a small Squirrill as big as a Rat, called a *Neuxis*, the one halfe of either he gaue vs, and after went to the wire to fish. From hence we wrote to *Plimouth*, and sent *Tokamahamon* before to *Namasket*, willing him from thence to send another, that he might meet vs with food at *Namasket*. Two men now onely remained with vs, and it pleased God to giue them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing againe: more they gat and fell to eating a-fresh, and retayned sufficient readie rost for all our break-fasts. About two a Clocke in the morning, arose a great storme of wind, raine, lightning, and thunder, in such violent manner, that we could not keepe in our fire; and had the Savages not rosted fish when we were asleepe, we had set forward fasting: for the raine still continued with great violence, even the whole day thorow, till wee came within two miles of home. Saturday, July 7.

Being wett and weary, at length we came to *Namaschet*, there we refreshed our selues, giuing gifts to all such as had shewed vs any kindnesse. Amongst others one of the sixe that came with

vs from *Packanokik* having before this on the way vnkindly forsaken vs, marvayled we gaue him nothing, and told vs what he had done for vs; we also told him of some discurtesies he offered vs, whereby he deserved nothing, yet we gaue him a small trifle: wherevpon he offered vs Tobacco: but the house being full of people, we told them hee stole some by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it: For we would not receiue that which was stolne vpon any termes; if we did, our God would be angry with vs, and destroy vs. This abashed him, and gaue the rest great content: but at our departure he would needs carry him on his backe thorow a River, whom he had formerly in some sort abused. Faine they would haue had vs to lodge there all night: and wondered we would set forth againe in such Weather: but God be praysed, wee came safe home that night, though wett, weary, and surbated.

THE EXPEDITION TO NAUSET (EASTHAM) FOR THE LOST BOY.

The preceding narrative ends with Saturday, the 7th of July, 1621. The narrative of the Lost Boy follows immediately upon that; it is the next matter recorded from Governor Bradford's Journal, by Mr. Prince, in his Chronology. He places it about the end of July. Bradford's account in Prince is as follows: "John Billington, a boy, being lost in the woods, the Governor causes him to be inquired for among the natives; at length Massasoit sends word he is at Nauset. He had wandered five days, lived on berries, then light of an Indian plantation, twenty miles south of us, called Manomet, and they conveyed him to the people who first assaulted us; but the Governor sends ten men in a shallop, with Squanto and Tockamahamon, to fetch him."

Turning to the Journal of the Pilgrims under date of Dec. 5, 1620, we find the account of a providential deliverance from great danger incurred on board the May Flower, through "the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons;" doubtless this same "young scapegrace," as Dr. Young very properly calls him, "who the next summer wandered off down the Cape as far as Eastham, causing great anxiety to the infant colony, and putting them to the trouble of sending an expedition after him." The father of this boy, Dr. Young notifies the reader in his

Chronicles of the Pilgrims, "was not one of the Leyden Church, but slipped in among the Pilgrims in England."* He was the person, as we have seen by the Journal of the Pilgrims, under date of March, who had the vile distinction of being the author of the very first offence committed in the Colony. He was hanged at length, in 1630, for murder. This young "scape-grace," in the text, after whom the expedition described in the following narrative was undertaken, is probably an example of the manner in which such a worthless father would be likely to train his family. Governor Bradford could not comprehend how it was that such a profane wretch as Billington came to be shuffled in with the company of the Pilgrims.

Nauset was the place where the Pilgrims had their first encounter with the Indians, they having been enraged against the English by the villanies of Hunt, who carried off seven of the Nausites to sell them as slaves, and among them the two sons of the old woman, whose grief is related in the narrative. The place called "Manomet, twenty miles south of us," is Sandwich, and Nauset is the town or territory of Eastham, whither the explorers were going; the place called Manamoick is said to be Chatham, and the harbor of Cummaquid, where they put in for the night, is Barnstable Harbor. These are all the localities that need to be noticed, and we only add, from Governor Bradford, in Prince's Chronology, that the person or persons mentioned at Manamoick were paid for their corn; "those people also come and make their peace, and we give them full satisfaction for the corn we had formerly found in their country."† The Pilgrims were upright and kind in all their dealings with the Indians.

* Note in Chronicles of the Pilgrims, page 119.

† Prince's New England Chronology, vol. i. p. 108.

A

VOYAGE MADE BY TEN of our Men to the Kingdome of NAVSET, to seeke a Boy that had *lost himselfe in the* WOODS; With such Accidents as befell vs in that VOYAGE.

THe 11th of *Iune* we set forth, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there arose a storme of wind and raine, with much lightning and thunder, in so much that a spout arose not far from vs: but God be praysed, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place, called *Cummaquid*, where wee had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with vs, the one was *Tisquantum* our Interpreter, the other *Tokamahamon*, a speciall friend. It being night before we came in, we Anchored in the middest of the Bay, where we were drie at a low water. In the morning we espied Savages seeking Lobsters, and sent our two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would

would not hurt them. Their answere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at *Nauset*; yet since wee were there they desired vs to come ashore & eate with them: which as soone as our Boat floated we did: and went sixe ashore, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouernour, whom they call *Iyanough*, a man not exceeding twentie-six yeeres of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and fayre conditioned, indeed not like a Savage, saue for his attyre; his entertainement was answerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place; There was an old woman, whom we iudged to be no lesse then an hundred yeeres old, which came to see vs because shee neuer saw English, yet could not behold vs without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessiuely. We demaunding the reason of it, they told vs, she had three sons, who when master *Hunt* was in these parts went aboord his ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captiues into Spaine (for *Tisquantum* at that time was carried away also) by which meanes she was depriued of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any English man should giue them that offence, that *Hunt* was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for vs we would not offer them any such iniury, though it would gaine vs all the skins in the Countrey. So we gaue her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boat for *Nauset*, *Iyanough* and two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to *Nauset*, the day and tyde were almost spent, in so much as we could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or Governour of *Commaquid* went a-shore and his men with him, we also sent *Tisquantum* to tell *Aspinet* the Sachim of *Nauset* wherefore we came. The Sauages here came very thicke amongst vs, and were earnest with vs to bring in our Boate. But we neither well could, nor yet desired to doe it, because we had lest cause to trust them, being they onely had formerly made an Assault vpon vs in the same place, in time of our Winter Discouery for Habitation. And indeed it was no

marnayle

maruayle they did so, for howsoeuer through snow or otherwise wee saw no houses, yet wee were in the middest of them.

When our boat was a ground they came very thicke, but wee stood therein vpon our guard, not suffering any to enter except two: the one being of *Maramoick*, and one of those, whose Corne we had formerly found, we promised him restitution, & desired him either to come to *Patuxet* for satisfaction, or else we would bring them so much corne againe, hee promised to come, we vsed him very kindely for the present. Some few skins we gate there but not many.

After Sun-set, *Aspinet* came with a great traine, & brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water: hee had not lesse than an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop side vnarmed with him, the other stood aloofe with their bow and arrowes. There he delivered vs the boy, behung with beades, and made peace with vs, wee bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

Here we vnderstood, that the *Narrohigansets* had spoyled some of *Massasoyts* men, and taken him. This strucke some feare in vs, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strength thereof being abroad: But we set foorth with resolution to make the best hast home wee could; yet the winde being contrary, having scarce any fresh water leaft, and at least, 16. leagues home, we put in againe for the shore. There we met againe with *Iyanough* the *Sachim* of *Cummaquid*, and the most of his Towne, both men women & children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good: yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women ioyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallop, the men also shewing all the kindnes they could, *Iyanough* himselfe taking a bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs.

Againe we set out but to small purpose, for we gat but little homeward; Our water also was very brackish, and not to be drunke.

The

The next morning, *Iyanough* espied vs againe and ran after vs; we being resolved to goe to *Cummaquid* againe to water, tooke him into the Shallop, whose entertainement was not inferiour vnto the former.

The soyle at *Nauset* and here is alike, even and sandy, not so good for corne as where we are; Shipps may safely ride in eyther harbour. In the Summer, they abound with fish.

Being now watered, we put forth againe,
and by Gods providence, came
safely home that night.

(***)

THE EXPEDITION TO NAMASCHET, OR MIDDLEBOROUGH.

The next narrative in this volume is the fruit of the Treaty of the Pilgrims with the great King Massasoit. On their return from Nauset, word having been brought to the Pilgrims concerning the conspiracy against Massasoit, and information also that their friend Squanto was either killed or in great danger, they resolved at once upon the following expedition. Mr. Prince records it in his Chronology under date of Aug. 13th, 1621, as follows:

"At this the Governor assembles our company, and taking counsel, 'tis conceived not fit to be borne; for if we should suffer our friends and messengers thus to be wronged, we shall have none to cleave to us, or give us intelligence, or do us any service, but would next fall upon us, &c. We therefore resolve to send ten men to-morrow, with Hobamok, to seize our foes in the night; if Squanto be killed, to cut off Coubitant's head, but hurt only those who had a hand in the murder, and retain Nepeof, another Sachem in the confederacy, till we hear of Massasoit."*

The next day, August 14th, they set out, and after complete success in their expedition, returned home Aug. 15th, at night, attended by many friends, and bringing three wounded savages, whom they cured of their wounds, and sent back again. The consequences of this expedition

* Prince's New England Chronology, vol. i. p. 109.

were happy for the Colony. "After this," says Governor Bradford, in Prince, "we have many gratulations from diverse Sachems, and much firmer peace. Yea, those of the Isle of Capawak send to secure our friendship; and Corbitant himself uses the mediation of Massasoit to be reconciled. Yea, Canonicus, Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, sends a messenger to treat of peace."

Under date of September 13th, 1621, it is also added that nine Sachems subscribed an instrument of submission to King James, whose names are given. "Yea Massasoit in writing under his hand to Captain Standish, has owned the King of England to be his master. Both he and many other kings under him, as of Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, Namasket, with diverse others, who dwell about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts; and all this by friendly usage, love, and peace, just and honest carriage, good counsel, and so forth."

Such were the happy fruits of the kind, upright, and energetic character and dealings of the Pilgrims.

A

IOVRNEY TO THE

Kingdome of *NAMASCHET*

in defence of the Great King

MASSASOYT *against the Narrohigganſets*, and to revenge

the ſupposed Death

of our Interpreter

Tisquantum.

AT our returne from *Nauset*, we found it true, that *Massasoyt* was put from his Countrey by the *Narrohigganſets*. Word also was brought vnto vs, that one *Coubatant*, a petty Sachim or Governour vnder *Massasoyt* (whom they euer feared to be too conversant with the *Narrohigganſets*) was at *Namaschet*, who sought to draw the hearts of *Massasoyts* subjects from him, speaking also of vs, storming at the Peace between *Nauset*, *Cummaquid*, and vs, and at *Tisquantum*, the worker of it; also at *Tokamahamon*, and one *Hobbamock* (two Indians or Lemes,* one

* Or Lemes. Dr. Young regards this as a mistake of the printers for *our allies*.

of

of which he would trecherously haue murdered a little before, being a speciall and trusty man of *Massasoyts*) *Tokamahamon* went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their liues in their hands, priuately went to see if they could heare of their King, and lodging at *Namaschet* were discouered to *Coubatant*, who set a guard to beset the house and tooke *Tisquantum* (for he had sayd, if he were dead, the English had lost their tongue) *Hobbamock* seeing that *Tisquantum* was taken, and *Coubatant* held a knife at his breast, being a strong and stout man, brake from them and came to *New-Plimmouth*, full of feare and sorrow for *Tisquantum*, whom he thought to be slaine.

Vpon this Newes the Company assembled together, and resolued on the morrow to send ten men armed to *Namaschet* and *Hobbamock*, for their guide, to reuenge the supposed death of *Tisquantum* on *Coubatant* our bitter Enemy, and to retaine *Nepeof*, another Sachem or Gouernour, who was of this confederacy, till we heard, what was become of our friend *Massasoyt*.

Aug. 14, 1621. On the morrow we set out ten men Armed, who tooke their iourney as aforesayd, but the day proved very wett. When we supposed we were within three or foure myles of *Namaschet*, we went out of the way and stayed there till night, beeause we would not be discovered. There we consulted what to doe, and thinking best to beset the house at mid-night, each was appointed to his taske by the Captaine, all men incouraging one another, to the vtmost of their power.

By night our guide lost his way, which much discouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our armes: but one of our men hauing beene before at *Namaschet* brought vs into the way againe.

Before we came to the Towne we sat downe and ate such as our Knapsaeke afforded, that being done, we threw them aside, and all sueh things as might hinder vs, and so went on and beset the house, aceording to our last resolution. Those that entred, demaunded if *Coubatant* were not there: but feare had bereft the Savages of speech. We charged them not to stirre, for if *Coubatant* were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were,

we

we came principally for him, to be auenged on him for the supposed death of *Tisquantum*, and other matters: but howsoeuer wee would not at all hurt their women, or children. Notwithstanding some of them pressed out at a priuate doore and escaped, but with some wounds: At length perceiuing our principall ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was returned with all his traine, and that *Tisquantum* was yet liuing, and in the town offering some Tobacco, other such as they had to eate. In this hurley burley we discharged two Peeces at Randome, which much terrified all the Inhabitants, except *Tisquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, who though they knew not our end in comming, yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boyes that were in the house seeing our care of women, often cried *Neensquaes*, that is to say, I am a Woman: the Women also hanging vpon *Hobbamock*, calling him *Towam*, that is, Friend. But to be short, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might see to search the house. In the meane time, *Hobbamock* gat on the top of the house, and called *Tisquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, which came vnto vs accompanied with others, some armed and others naked. Those that had Bowes and Arrowes we tooke them away, promising them againe when it was day. The house we tooke for our better safegard; but released those we had taken, manifesting whom we came for and wherefore.

On the next morning we marched into the middest of the Towne, and went to the house of *Tisquantum* to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were vpright towards vs, but all *Coubatants* faction were fled away. There in the middest of them we manifested againe our intendment, assuring them, that although *Coubatant* had now escaped vs, yet there was no place should secure him and his from vs if he continued his threatning vs, and prouoking others against vs, who had kindly entertained him, and neuer intended euill towards him till he now so iustly deserued it. Moreover, if *Massasoyt* did not returne in safetie from *Narrohigganset*, or if hereafter he should make any insurrection against him, or offer violence to *Tisquantum*, *Hobbamock*, or any of *Massasoyts* Subiects, we would revenge it vpon him, to the ouer-throw of him and his. As for those were wounded, we were sorry for it,

it, though themselues procured it in not staying in the house at our command: yet if they would returne home with vs, our Surgeon should heale them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with vs, *Tisquantum* and many other knowne friends accompanying vs, and offering all helpe that might be by carriage of any thing wee had to ease us. So that by Gods good Providence wee safely returned home the morrow night after we set forth.

(***)

EXPEDITION TO THE MASSACHUSETTS.

The next and last narrative in this volume is that of the expedition to Boston Bay, and the country of the Massachusetts. The preceding narrative of the journey to Namaschet ends Aug. 15th, 1621; this begins about a month afterwards, September 18th, 1621. The sachem of the point of country whither their visit was directed, which about ten years after was to be called Boston, was under the sovereignty of Massasoit. The present expedition was one of peace and commerce, or "truck" with the natives, according to the expression used in the Journal.

The reader will remark with surprise, on this occasion, as on some others recorded in the narratives, the extreme fear in which the Indians seem to have stood of the English, shaking and trembling for terror. It is probable that this was partly owing to the report which Squanto had spread among them, that the Pilgrims had in their possession a cask containing the Great Plague, which had so fearfully desolated the country, and that they could let it out at pleasure. The poor creatures seem sometimes to have expected that the very sight and presence of the Pilgrims would make their bodies break out in the deadly carbuncles of the Pestilence.

This expedition ends Sept. 20th, 1621. The record of it in Prince's Chronology is succeeded by the following summer note from Gov. Bradford: "All the summer, no want; while some were trading, others were fishing Cod, Bass, &c. We now gather in our harvest; and, as cold weather

advances, come in store of water fowl, wherewith this place abounds, though afterward they by degrees decrease; as also abundance of wild Turkies with venison, &c. Fit our houses against winter, are in health, and have all things in plenty."

A

RELATION OF OVR

Voyage to *MASSACHVSETS*,

And what happened there.

IT seemed good to the Company in generall, that though the *Massachusets* has often threatened vs (as we were informed) yet we should goe amongst them, partly to see the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke.

For these ends the Governours chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent *Tisquantum*, and two other Salvages to bring vs to speech with the people, and interpret for vs.

18 Sept. 1621. We set out about mid-night, the tyde then seruing for vs; we supposing it to be neerer then it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proued well neere twentie Leagues from *New Plimmouth*.

We came into the bottome of the Bay, but being late wee anchored and lay in the Shallop, not hauing seene any of the people. The next morning we put in for the shore. There we found many Lobsters that had beene gathered together by the Saluages, which we made ready vnder a cliffe. The Captaine set two Sentinels behind the cliffe to the landward to secure the Shallop, and taking a guide with him, and foure of our company, went to seeke the Inhabitants, where they

Supposed Copp's Hill.

met

met a woman comming for her Lobsters, they told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were; *Tisquantum* went to them, the rest returned, hauing direction which way to bring the Shallop to them.

The Sachim, or Gouernour of this place, is called *Obbatinewat*, and though he liue in the bottome of the *Massachuset* bay, yet he is vnder *Massasoyt*. He vsed vs very kindly; he told vs, he durst not then remaine in any setled place, for feare of the *Tarentines*. Also the *Squa Sachim*, or *Massachusets* Queene was an enemy to him.

We told him of diuers Sachims that had acknowledged themselves to be King IAMES his men, and if he also would submit himselfe, we would be his safegard from his enemies; which he did, and went along with vs to bring vs to the *Squa Sachim*. Againe we crossed the Bay which is very large, and hath at lest fifty Ilands in it; but the certaine number is not knowne to the Inhabitants. Night it was before wee came to that side of the Bay where this people were. On shore the Saluages went but found no body. That night also we rid at Anchor aboord the Shallop.

On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Hauing gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A mile from hence, *Nanepashemet* their King in his life time had liued. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with pools and plancks some six foote from the ground, and the house vpon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome, wee came to a Fort built by their deceased King, the manner thus; There were pools some thirtie or fortie foote long, stucke in the ground as thick as they could be set one by another, and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breast high was digged on each side; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge; in the midst of this Pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buryed.

About a myle from hence, we came to such another, but seated

ed on the top of an hill: here *Nanepashemet* was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death. At this place we stayed, and sent two Saluages to looke the Inhabitants, and to informe them of our ends in comming, that they might not be fearefull of vs: Within a myle of this place they found the women of the place together, with their Corne on heapes, which we supposed them to be fled for feare of vs, and the more, because in diuers places they had newly pulled downe their houses, and for hast in one place had left some of their Corne couered with a Mat, and no body with it.

With much feare they entertained vs at first, but seeing our gentle carriage towards them, they tooke heart and entertained vs in the best manner they could, boyling Cod and such other things as they had for vs. At length with much sending for came one of their men, shaking and trembling for feare. But when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to trucke, he promised vs his skins also. Of him we enquired for their Queene, but it seemed shee was far from thence, at lest we could not see her.

Here *Tisquantum* would haue had vs rifled the Saluage women, and taken their skins, and all such things as might be seruiceable for vs; for (sayd he) they are a bad people, and haue oft threatned you: But our answere was; Were they neuer so bad, we would not wrong them, or giue them any just occasion against vs: for their words we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing against vs, then we would deale far worse then he desired.

Hauing well spent the day, we returned to the Shallop, almost all the Women accompanying vs, to trucke, who sold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great shamefastnesse (for indeed they are more modest then some of our English women are) we promised them to come againe to them, and they vs, to keepe their skins.

Within this Bay, the Salvages say, there are two Riuers; the one whereof we saw, hauing a faire entrance, but we had no time to discouer it. Better harbours for shipping cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the Bay are many Rockes; and in all likelihood

likelihood very good fishing ground. Many, yea, most of the Ilands haue beene inhabited, some being cleered from end to end, but the people are all dead, or remoued.

Our victuall growing scarce, the Winde comming fayre, and hauing a light Moone, we set out at euening, and through the goodnesse of GOD, came safely home before noone the day following.

MR. WINSLOW'S LETTER.

The following letter to a loving and old friend, as the signature imports, is from Edward Winslow. Between this and the preceding narrative of the expedition to the Massachusetts is an interval of three months, that is, from Sept. 20th to Dec. 13th, when the ship sailed which carried Mr. Winslow's letter. That ship was the Fortune, which arrived at Cape Cod Nov. 9th, with thirty-five persons to be added to the Pilgrim Colony. Among them came Mr. Cushman, who, however, returned to England in the same vessel, according to appointment with the merchant adventurers.

By the eleventh of December the Colonists had built seven dwelling houses; four for the use of the plantation; and had "made provisions for diverse others." Meantime "both Massasoit, the greatest King of the natives, and all the princes and people round about, had made peace with them; seven of them at once sent their messengers for that end." It was under these favorable circumstances, and in the indulgence of such hopes, as would naturally grow out of a state of things like that mentioned in Gov. Bradford's Summer Note aforesaid, that this letter from Mr. Winslow was written. Only the bright side was permitted to be seen. But the very addition which the Fortune brought to the numbers of the Colony, without any adequate supply of provisions, was a preparation of evil. Besides this, the Pilgrims were compelled, out of their scanty stock, to help victual the Fortune for her return

voyage; so that soon after her departure grim famine began to look them in the face.

Mr. Winslow's letter is dated at Plymouth, the eleventh of December, and that is the latest date to which this volume of the Pilgrim Narratives brings us. The summer had been delightful, the climate lovely, the natural fruits of the earth abundant; grapes, strawberries, and budding and blossoming roses, in such sweetness and variety, that for a little while New England looked like a Paradise. The severest trials of the Colony, by the early mortality, had been passed through, and even the opening winter looked promising; but the dread trial by Famine they had yet to endure.

A

LETTER SENT FROM *New-England* to a friend in these parts,

setting forth a briefe and true Declaration
of the worth of that Plantation;
As also certaine vseful Directions
for such as intend a VOYAGE
into those Parts.

LOuing, and old Friend, although I receiued no Letter from you by this Ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write vnto you truely and faithfully of all things, I haue therefore at this time sent vnto you accordingly. Referring you for further satisfaction to our more large Relations. You shall vnderstand, that in this little time, that a few of vs haue beene here, we haue built seauen dwelling houses, and foure for the vse of the Plantation, and haue made preparation for divers others. We set the last Spring some twentie Acres of *Indian* Corne, and sowed some six acres of Barly & Pease, and according to the manner of the *Indians*, we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds, which we haue in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doores. Our Corne did proue well, & God be praysed, we had a good increase of *Indian*-Corne, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Pease not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sowne, they came vp very well, and blossomed, but the Sunne parched them in the blossome; our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours; they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beside, served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations, we exercised our Armes, many of the *Indians* coming amongst vs, and amongst the rest their greatest King

Massasoyt,

Massasoyt, with some nintie men, whom for three dayes we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed fiue Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and bestowed on our Governour, and vpon the Captaine, and others. And although it be not alwayes so plentifull, as it was at this time with vs, yet by the goodnesse of God, we are so farre from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plentie. Wee haue found the *Indians* very faithfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleasure vs; we often goe to them, and they come to vs; some of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them; the occasions and Relations whereof you shall vnderstand by our generall and more full Declaration of such things as are worth the noting, yea, it hath pleased God so to possesse the *Indians* with a feare of vs, and loue vnto vs, that not onely the greatest King amongst them called *Massasoyt*, but also all the Princes and peoples round about vs, haue either made sute vnto vs, or beene glad of any occasion to make peace with vs, so that seauen of them at once haue sent their messengers to vs to that end, yea, an Isle at sea, which we neuer saw, hath also together with the former yeelded willingly to be vnder the protection, and subiects to our soueraigne Lord King IAMES, so that there is now great peace amongst the *Indians* themselues, which was not formerly, neither would haue bin but for vs; and we for our parts walke as peaceably and safely in the wood, as in the hie-wayes in *England*, we entertaine them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their Venison on vs. They are a people without any Religion, or knowledge of any God, yet very trustie, quicke of apprehension, ripe witted, iust, the men and women goe naked, onely a skin about their middles; for the temper of the ayre, here it agreeth well with that in *England*, and if there be any difference at all, this is some what hotter in Summer, some thinke it to be colder in Winter, but I cannot out of experience so say; the ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beene reported. I neuer in my life remember a more seasonable yeare, then we haue here enioyed; and if we haue once but Kine, Horses, and Sheepe, I make no question, but men might liue as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowle we haue great abundance, fresh Codd in the Summer is but course meat with vs, our Bay is full of

Lobsters

Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of other Fish; in September we can take a Hogshead of Eeles in a night, with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter; we haue Mussels and Othus* at our doores: Oysters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the *Indians* when we will; all the Spring time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs: here are Grapes, white and red, and very sweete and strong also. Strawberies, Gooseberies, Raspas, &c. Plums of three sorts, white, blacke and red, being almost as good as a Damsen: abundance of Roses, white, red, and damask: single, but very sweet indeed; the Countrey wanteth onely industrious men to imploy, for it would grieue your hearts (if as I) you had seene so many myles together by goodly Riuers vninhabited, and withall to consider those parts of the world wherein you liue, to be euen greatly burthened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you vnderstand, being the truth of things as nere as I could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalfe giue God thankes who had delt so fauorably with vs.

Our supply of men from you came the ninth of *November* 1621. putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from vs. The *Indians* that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the Corne which we found in Caues, for which we haue giuen them full content, and are in great league with them. They sent vs word there was a ship nere unto them, but thought it to be a French man, and indeede for our selues we expected not a friend so soone. But when we perceiued that she made for our Bay, the Gouernor commanded a great Peece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at worke; whereupon euery man, yea, boy that could handle a Gun were readie, with full resolution, that if she were an enemy, we would stand in our iust defence, not feareing them, but God provided better for vs then we supposed; these came all in health vnto vs, not any being sicke by the way (otherwise then by Sea sicknesse) and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God. The good-wife *Ford* was deliuered of a sonne the first night shee landed, and both of them are very well. When it pleaseth God, we are setled and fitted for the fishing busines, and other trading, I doubt not but

* Perhaps this is a misprint for the word *cockles*.

by the blessing of God, the gayne will giue content to all ; in the meane time, that wee haue gotten we haue sent by this ship, and though it be not much, yet it will witnesse for vs, that wee haue not beene idle, considering the smallnesse of our number all this Summer. Wee hope the Marchants will accept of it, and be incouraged to furnish vs with things needfull for further imploy-ment, which will also incourage vs to put forth our selues to the vttermost. Now because I expect your comming vnto vs with other of our friends, whose companie we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needfull ; be carefull to haue a very good bread-roome to put your Biskets in, let your Cask for Beere and Water be Iron-bound for the first tyre if not more ; let not your meat be drie salted, none can better doe it then the Saylers ; let your meale be so hard trodd in your Cask that you shall need an Ads or Hatchet to work it out with: Trust not too much on vs for Corne at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholy on vs, we shall haue little enough till haruest ; be carefull to come by some of your meale to spend by the way, it will much refresh you. Build your Cabbins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes, and bedding with you ; bring euery man a Musket or fowling Peece, let your Peece be long in the barrell, and feare not the waight of it, for most of our shooting is from Stands ; bring iuyce of Lemons, and take it fasting, it is of good vse ; for hot waters, Anni-seed water is the best, but vse it sparingly ; if you bring any thing for comfort in the Country, Butter or Sallet oyle, or both is very good ; our *Indian* Corne even the coursest, maketh as pleasant meat as Rice, therefore spare that vnlesse to spend by the way ; bring Paper, and Linced oyle for your Windowes, with Cotton yarne for your Lamps ; let your shott be most for bigge Fowles, and bring store of Powder and shot: I forbeare further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next returne, so I take my leaue, commending you to the LORD for a safe conduct vnto vs. Resting in him

Plimmouth in New-England
this 11. of December.
1621.

Your louing Friend.

E. W.

MR. CUSHMAN'S REASONS.

The following document, according to the signature, is from Mr. Cushman. It was published with this Journal of the Pilgrims, as the closing document in the volume, to persuade good persons who were hesitating, to join the Colony. Mr. Cushman had just spent a month with the Pilgrims at Plymouth, had bidden them farewell to sail in the Fortune for England, Dec. 13th, 1621, and arrived in London about two months afterwards, in February, 1622. During the little time while he was with the Pilgrims, he delivered for the benefit of the Colony a discourse on the sin and danger of self-love; an excellent and pithy discourse, of a tenor very similar to that of the "Reasons and Considerations," following in this volume. Mr. Cushman was a man of ability and integrity, and of a public and self-denying spirit.

Reasons & considerations touching the lawfulnesse of remouing out of *England* into the parts of *America*.

Forasmuch as many exceptions are daily made against the going into, and inhabiting of forraine desert places, to the hinderances of plantations abroad, and the increase of distractions at home: It is not amisse that some which haue beene eare witnesses of the exceptions made, and are either Agents or Abettors of such remouals and plantations, doe seeke to giue content to the world, in all things that possibly they can. The Preamble.

And although the most of the opposites are such as either dreame of raising their fortunes here, to that then which there is nothing more vnlike, or such as affecting their home-borne countrey so vehemently, as that they had rather with all their friends begge; yea starue in it, then vndergoe a little difficultie in seeking abroad; yea are there some who out of doubt in tendernesse of conscience, and feare to offend God by running before they be called, are straitned and doe straiten others, from going to forraine plantations.

For whose cause especially, I haue beene drawne out of my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that might giue them content and satisfaction, and also stay and stop the wilfull and wittie cauiller: and herein I trust I shall not be blamed of any godly wise, though thorow my slender iudgement I should misse the marke, and not strike the naile on the head, considering it is the first attempt that hath beene made (that I know of) to defend those enterprises. Reason would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better iudgement see further or otherwise, that he rather instruct me, then deride me.

And being studious for breuitie, we must first consider, that whereas God of old did call and summon our Fathers by predictions, dreames, visions, and certaine illuminations to goe from their countries, places and habitations, to reside and dwell here or there, and to wander vp and downe from citie to citie, and Land to Land, according Cautions. *Gen.* 12. 1, 2. & 35. 1. *Mat.* 2. 19. *Psal.* 105. 13.

cording to his will and pleasure. Now there is no such calling to be expected for any matter whatsoeuer, neither must any so much as imagine that there will now be any such thing. God did once so traine vp his people, but now he doth not, but speakes in another manner, and so we must apply our selues to Gods present dealing, and not to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle of giving *Manna* ceased, when the fruits of the land became plentie, so God hauing such a plentifull storehouse of directions in his holy word, there must not now any extraordinary reuelations be expected.

Heb. 1. 1, 2.

Iosh. 5. 12.

But now the ordinarie examples and precepts of the Scriptures reasonably and rightly vnderstood and applied, must be the voice and word, that must call vs, presse vs, and direct vs in euery action.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like vnto the possession which the Iews had in *Canaan*, being legally holy and appropriated vnto a holy people the seed of *Abraham*, in which they dwelt securely, and had their daies prolonged, it being by an immediate voice said, that he (the Lord) gaue it them as a land of rest after their wearie trauels, and a type of *Eternall* rest in heauen, but now there is no land of that Sanctimonie, no land so appropriated; none typicall: much lesse any that can be said to be giuen of God to any nation as was *Canaan*, which they and their seed must dwell in, till God sendeth vpon them sword or captiuitie: but now we are in all places strangers and Pilgrims, trauellers and soiourners, most properly, hauing no dwelling but in this earthen Tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandring, and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is no where, but in the heauens: in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all ascend that loue the comming of our Lord Iesus.

Gen. 17. 8.

2 *Cor.* 5. 1, 2, 3.

So were the Iews, but yet their temporall blessings and inheritances were more large thanours.

Though then, there may be reasons to perswade a man to liue in this or that land, yet there cannot be the same reasons which the Iewes had, but now as naturall, ciuill and Religious bands tie men, so they must be bound, and as good

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reasons for things terrene and heauenly appeare, so they must be led. And so here falleth in our question, how a man that is here borne and bred, and hath liued some yeares, may remoue himselfe into another countrie. *Obiect.*

I answer, a man must not respect only to liue, and doe good to himselfe, but he should see where he can liue to doe most good to others: for as one saith, *He whose liuing is but for himselfe, it is time he were dead.* Some men there are who of necessitie must here liue, as being tied to duties either to Church, Common-wealth, houshold, kindred, &c. but others, and that many, who doe no good in none of those nor can doe none, as being not able, or not in fauour, or as wanting opportunitie, and liue as outcasts: no bodies, eie-sores, eating but for themselues, teaching but themselues, and doing good to none, either in soule or body, and so passe ouer daies, yeares, and moneths, yea so liue and so die. Now such should lift vp their eies and see whether there be not some other place and countrie to which they may goe to doe good and haue vse towards others of that knowledge, wisdome, humanitie, reason, strength, skill, facultie, &c. which God haue giuen them for the seruice of others and his owne glory. *Answ.* 1 What persons may hence remoue. 2 Why they should remoue.

But not to passe the bounds of modestie so far as to name any, though I confesse I know many, who sit here still with their talent in a napkin, hauing notable endowments both of body and minde, and might doe great good if they were in some places, which here doe none, nor can doe none, and yet through fleshly feare, niceness, straitnesse of heart, &c. sit still and looke on, and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a day of pleasure, nor an houre of rest to further the knowledge and saluation of the sons of *Adam* in that *New world*, where a drop of the knowledge of Christ is most precious, which is here not set by. Now what shall we say to such a profession of Christ, to which is ioyned no more deniall of a mans selfe? But some will say, what right haue I to goe liue in the heathens countrie? *Luk.* 19. 20. *Reas.* 1. *Obiect.*

Letting passe the ancient discoueries, contracts and agreements *Answ.*

agreements which our English men haue long since made in those parts, together with the acknowledgement of the histories and Chronicles of other nations, who professe the land of *America* from the Cape *De Florida* vnto the Bay of *Canado* (which is South and North 300. leagues and vpwards; and East and West, further then yet hath beene discouered) is proper to the King of England, yet letting that passe, lest I be thought to meddle further then it concerns me, or further then I haue discerning: I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, sight and practise, since I haue trauailed in these affaires.

Reas. 2. And first seeing we daily pray for the conuersion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary meanes, and course for vs to take to conuert them, or whether praier for them be only referred to Gods extraordinarie worke from heauen. Now it seemeth vnto me that we ought also to endeuour and vse the meanes to conuert them, and the meanes cannot be vsed vnlesse we goe to them or they come to vs: to vs they cannot come, our land is full: to them we may goe, their land is emptie.

Reas. 3. This then is a sufficient reason to proue our going thither to liue, lawfull: their land is spatious and void, & there are few and doe but run ouer the grasse, as doe also the Foxes and wilde beasts: they are not industrious, neither haue art, scieuce, skill or facultie to vse either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoiles, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarkes therefore remoued from straiter places into more roomthy, where the Land lay idle and waste, and none vsed it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as *Gen.* 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34. 21. and 41. 20. so is it lawfull now to take a land which none vseth, and make vse of it.

Reas. 4. This is to be considered as respecting new *England* and the territories about the plantation. And as it is a common land or vnused, & vndressed countrey; so we haue it by common consent, composition and agreement, which agreement is double: First the Imperial Gouernor *Massasoit*, whose circuits in likelihood are larger then *England* and *Scotland*, hath acknowledged the Kings Maiestie of *England*

land to be his Master and Commander, and that once in my hearing, yea and in writing, vnder his hand to Captaine *Standish*, both he and many other Kings which are vnder him, as *Pamet*, *Nauset*, *Cummaquid*, *Narrowhiggonset*, *Namaschet*, &c., with diuers others that dwell about the baies of *Patuxet*, and *Massachuset*: neither hath this beene accomplished by threats and blowes, or shaking of sword, and sound of trumpet, for as our facultie that way is small, and our strength lesse: so our warring with them is after another manner, namely by friendly vsage, loue, peace, honest and iust cariages, good counsell, &c. that so we and they may not only liue in peace in that land, and they yeeld subiection to an earthly Prince, but that as voluntaries they may be perswaded at length to embrace the Prince of peace Christ Iesus, and rest in peace with him for euer.

Psal. 110. 3. & 12. 3.

Secondly, this composition is also more particular and applicatorie as touching our selues there inhabiting: the Emperour by a ioynt consent, hath promised and appointed vs to liue at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for these two causes. First, because we are the seruants of *Iames* King of *England*, whose the land (as he confesseth) is, 2. because he hath found vs iust, honest, kinde and peaceable, and so loues our company; yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor feare of breach (except our securitie ingender in them some vnthought of trecherie, or our vnciuilitie prouoke them to anger) is most plaine in other Relations, which shew that the things they did were more out of loue then out of feare.

It being then first a vast and emptie *Chaos*: Secondly acknowledged the right of our Soueraigne King: Thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of diuers of his louing subiects, I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulnesse of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawfull for such as are not tied vpon some speciall occasion here, to liue there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprise is weightie and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wildernesse, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Soueraigne, but chiefly to displaie the efficacie & power of the Gospell both

in zealous preaching, professing, and wise walking vnder it, before the faces of these poore blinde Infidels.

As for such as obiect the tediousnesse of the voyage thither, the danger of Pirats robberie, of the sauages trecherie, &c. these are but Lyons in the way, and it were well for such men if they were in heauen, for who can shew them a place in this world where iniquitie shall not compasse them at the heeles, and where they shall haue a day without griefe, or a lease of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what dangers may lie at our doores, euen in our natiue countrie, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our sunne to goe downe at noone daies, and in the midst of our peace and securitie, lay vpon vs some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious Gospell.

Prou. 22. 13.

Psal. 49. 5.

Mat. 6. 34.

Amos 8. 9.

Ob. But we haue here great peace, plentie of the Gospell, and many sweet delights and varietie of comforts.

Answ. Trué indeed, and farre be it from vs to denie and diminish the least of these mercies, but haue we rendered vnto God thankfull obedience for this long peace, whilst other peoples haue beene at wars? haue we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at iars amongst our selues, whilst our peace hath lasted with forraigne power? was there euer more suits in law, more enuie, contempt and reproch then now adaies? *Abraham* and *Lot* departed asunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which was occasioned by the straightnesse of the land: and surely I am perswaded, that howsoeuer the frailties of men are principall in all contentions, yet the straitnes of the place is such, as each man is faine to plucke his meanes as it were out of his neighbours throat, there is such pressing and oppressing in towne and countrie, about Farmes, trades, traffique, &c. so as a man can hardly any where set vp a trade but he shall pull downe two of his neighbours.

2 Chro. 32. 25.

Gen. 13. 9, 10.

The Townes abound with young trades-men, and the Hospitals are full of the Auncient, the country is replenished with new Farmers, and the Almes-houses are filled with old Labourers, many there are who get their liuing with bearing burdens, but more are faine to burden the land with their whole bodies: multi-

tudes

tudes get their meanes of life by prating, and so doe numbers more by begging. Neither come these straits vpon men alwaies through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indiscretion, &c. as some thinke, but euen the most wise, sober, and discreet men, goe often to the wall, when they haue done their best, wherein as God's prouidence swaieth all, so it is easie to see, that the straitnesse of the place hauing in it so many strait hearts, cannot but produce such effects more and more, so as euery indifferent minded man should be ready to say with Father *Abraham*, *Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left:* Let vs not thus oppresse, straiten, and afflict one another, but seeing there is a spatious Land, the way to which is thorow the sea, wee will end this difference in a day.

That I speake nothing about the bitter contention that hath beene about Religion, by writing, disputing, and inueighing earnestly one against another, the heat of which zeale, if it were turned against the rude barbarisme of the Heathens, it might doe more good in a day, then it hath done here in many yeares. Neither of the little loue to the Gospell, and profit which is made by the Preachers in most places, which might easily driue the zealous to the Heathens who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the streetes, would be filled with exceeding great ioy and gladnesse, as that they would euen plucke the kingdome of heauen by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greatest let that is yet behinde is the sweet fellowship of friends, and the satietie of bodily delights. The last let.

But can there be two neerer friends almost then *Abraham* and *Lot*, or then *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and yet vpon as little occasions as we haue heere, they departed asunder, two of them being Patriarchs of the Church of old; the other the Apostles of the Church which is new, and their couenants were such as it seemeth might binde as much as any couenant betweene men at this day, and yet to auoid greater inconueniences they departed asunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh, as not to be pleased except they can pamper their bodies with variety of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered,

endangered, by mixtures vpon the stomach: The delights of the palate doe often inflame the vitall parts: as the tongue setteth a fire the whole body. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to snap at a crust. The rent taker liues on sweet morsels, but the rent payer eats a drie crust often with watery eies: and it is nothing to say what some one of a hundreth hath, but what the bulke, body and cominalty hath, which I warrant you is short enough. *Iames* 3. 6.

And they also which now liue so sweetly, hardly will their children attaine to that priuiledge, but some circumuentor or other will outstrip them, and make them sit in the dust, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it againe in 7. generations.

To conclude, without all partialitie, the present consumption which groweth vpon vs here, whilst the land groaneth vnder so many close-fisted and vnmercifull men, being compared with the easinesse, plainenesse and plentifulnesse in liuing in those remote places, may quickly perswade any man to a liking of this course, and to practise a remoual, which being done by honest, godly and industrious men, they shall there be right hartily welcome, but for other of dissolute and prophane life, their roomes are better then their companies; for if here where the Gospell hath beene so long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in such vices as the Heathen would shame to speake of, what will they be when there is lesse restraint in word and deed? My onely sute to all men is, that whether they liue there or here, they would learne to vse this world as they vsed it not, keeping faith and a good conscience, both with God and men, that when the day of account shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitfull seruants, and freely be receiued, and enter into the ioy of their master.

R. C:

FINIS.

HISTORICAL

AND

LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

PRINCIPLES, PROVIDENCES, AND PERSONS.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES, PROVIDENCES, PERSONS.—THE COLONY OF PRINCIPLE, AND THE COLONY OF GAIN.

Principles, Providences, Persons. This is God's order ; principles come first, providences next, persons last. Principles are eternal. Providences develope principles, principles make persons. Sometimes principles, providences, and persons all go to form other persons, so directly and visibly, that the combination arrests a reflecting mind as indicative of some great and special design. This is the case in the history of the formation of character in a man like Luther. Indeed, persons can be used as instrumentalities in no grander way, and on no sublimer mission, than informing other persons ; the greatest work of souls is *upon* souls, not upon railroads and steam-engines. Providences are the discipline of persons with respect to principles. Providences sometimes are the revelation of principles to persons, and sometimes they are the preparation of persons to sustain, hold forth, illustrate, and apply principles. Then again the principles sustain the persons to bear the providences, to understand them, and to carry forward their design.

In no company of men that the world ever saw was the Providence and Grace of God illustrated more remarkably, than with our Pilgrim Fathers. But God selected them

for a *work*, not for an immediate and glorious exhibition either of principles or graces. They were rather for the present, in their own humble language, "stepping stones," at the foundation, to be polished by being walked upon, than precious stones set for ornament and admiration in the superstructure. They are in the superstructure now, infinitely perfect, infinitely glorious; but on earth they were a company of God's workmen, God's operatives, and not mere incumbents of the sinecures of Grace, if there could be such a thing; nor merely the vivid pietists of glowing sensibilities, out of whose experience a diary of great depths and heights in the religious affections might be spread before the world. No! they were to suffer and to do God's will, as patient, pioneering laborers; laborers in a work of ages, by which, generation after generation, great principles should be more and more fully developed and established; principles for the building of a new world, and the renovation of an old.

They had scarcely time for any other spiritual work or enjoyment, than the Word of God and prayer. They could not be brooding over their affections, or analysing the processes of grace. Men who have to count, miserly, the kernels of corn for their daily bread, and to till their ground staggering through weakness from the effect of famine, can do but little in settling the metaphysics of faith, or in counting frames, and gauging the exercises of their feelings. Grim necessity of hunger looks morbid sensibility out of countenance.

Nevertheless, they were spiritually minded and experimental Christians, and they both acted upon principles and acted them out. Where before had there ever been a band of colonists in the World that did this? We know of none. A thousand colonies might be banded by the principles of gain, and thriving, like so many bee-hives; this was no more than the city of London itself was doing, with its knots of merchant adventurers. A Fur company

or a Wampum society in the wilderness has no more of a colonizing impulse, although they may leave their homes to dwell among savages, than the tradesmen in the Strand, who buy and sell, possibly without ever going a mile from their own door. But these impulses of gain, these enterprises of traffic, are not to be dignified with the name of principles. Nay, sometimes of such colonizing expeditions God says, "Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the stock of thy strength, therefore shalt thou plant pleasant plants, and shalt set it with strange slips. In the day shalt thou make thy plant to grow, and in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish ; but the harvest shall be an heap in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow."

It has been noted by more than one historian how signally every attempt to colonize any part of New England failed, until the enterprise of our Pilgrim Fathers was begun from a high sense of duty and in reliance upon God. "The designs of those attempts," remarks Cotton Mather, "being aimed no higher than the advancement of some worldly interests, a constant series of disasters has confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity." All men were aware of this. It was well known how wide was the distinction between a purely religious and a worldly colony, and that nothing but religion supported the enterprise of the Pilgrims. It was easy to colonize after they had opened the way, and made a clearing, a cornfield, a house of God, and a settlement in the wilderness.

Cotton Mather relates an amusing characteristic anecdote of one of the north-eastern fishing and trading settlements. He says that one of the Massachusetts ministers, once preaching to a congregation in those settlements (probably a hard and heedless set), besought them to become religious and to approve themselves as such, for this reason, among others, that if they did not, they would con-

tradict the main end of planting this wilderness; whereupon, a well known person, then in the assembly, cried out, "Sir, you are mistaken: you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay: but our main end was to catch fish."

They were accomplishing *their* main end, and so were the Pilgrim Fathers theirs; but there was not a colony in existence that did not know and acknowledge the difference between them and the Plymouth Pilgrims. That band of colonists had a sacredness in the eye of the whole world. There was no other company like them; there never would be another such.

They were religious Pilgrims, not tradesmen. We read much in their earliest history concerning a set of persons called Merchant Adventurers. God made no little use of such men for a season, both to discipline the Pilgrims, and to forward their enterprise. They were as the scaffolding of the building, by which God would put his living stones in their places, and then take the frame away.

Foundation and corner stones (remarks Mr. Hubbard, in his History of New England), though buried, and lying low under ground, ought not to be out of mind, seeing they support and bear up the weight of the whole building. This is eminently true of the unostentatious, but enduring and solid virtues of our Pilgrim Fathers. In their characters and habits God was laying the foundations of a people, among whom labor should be respectable in all classes, and industry and frugality native and national qualities. They were all laborers, they were almost all farmers, or had been, and labor with them was caused to be, by God's Providence, a necessity of their existence. The two foremost men among them had learned, the one the trade of a silk-dyer, the other the art of a printer; and both of them, the Governor and the Elder, labored with their hands, like the poorest and meanest of their company. There was no such thing in existence among them as slavery, to

make labor disreputable; nor any monopoly of luxury, to make idleness, and being waited on, the distinctions of a gentleman. They were all free; they were almost all *Christian* freemen; with whom self-denial was not only a necessity of God's Providence in their great enterprise, but always a duty of self-discipline. They went back to primitive times; if any will not work, neither shall he eat; yet not they, by their legislation, but God carrying them by his spirit and his discipline. And in their habit of labor among all classes, and of a simple competence gained by each family through industry and frugality, they laid the foundations of a state, in which not only labor itself was more reputable than in any other country in the world, but in which ignorance, and idleness, and poverty were almost unknown, till other countries contributed these foreign ingredients.

This is a world of labor, and always must and will be; but there only, where freedom and piety prevail, will labor, to the world's end, be regarded as honorable and noble. "I have spoken of labor," says Mr. Webster in one of his true New England speeches, "as one of the great elements of our society, the great substantial interest on which we all stand. Not feudal service, not predial toil, not the irksome drudgery by one race of mankind, subjected, on account of color, to the control of another race of mankind; but labor, intelligent, manly, independent, thinking and acting for itself, earning its own wages, accumulating those wages into capital, becoming a part of our social system, educating childhood, maintaining worship, claiming the right of the elective franchise, and helping to uphold the great fabric of the State. That is American Labor, and I confess that all my sympathies are with it, and my voice, until I am dumb, will be for it."

And the foundation of that system goes back to the day, when Bradford, Brewster, and Winslow labored in the field together, builded their own houses, planted their own corn, and, as truly as the lowliest of the Pilgrims, gained

their own bread by the sweat of their brow. But they did this, inspired by heavenly motives, for a heavenly end. Their religious faith and zeal, and the exalted nature of their purposes, turned all the drudgery of life into something noble and divine. They realized the beautiful aspirations of one of the sweet poets, favorite at that day among the Puritans; one who prophesied of the glory of the Church in this Western World; one who, in a few simple stanzas, has conveyed the whole secret of conquest, as well as happiness, in the Colony of our Pilgrim Fathers, the Colony of principle and not of gain. FOR THY SAKE, reads the story both of their piety and prosperity, their perseverance and success.

TEACH me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see;
And, what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee:

Not rudely, as a beast,
To run into an action;
But still to make Thee prepossessed,
And give it Thy perfection.

A man that looks on glass
On it may stay his eye;
Or, if he pleaseth, through it pass,
And then the heaven espy.

All may of Thee partake;
Nothing can be so mean,
Which, with this tincture, FOR THY SAKE,
Will not grow bright and clean.

A servant, with this clause,
Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,
Makes that, and the action, fine.

This is the famous stone,
That turneth all to gold:
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for less be told.

GEORGE HERBERT.

CHAPTER II.

THE VIRGINIA COMPANY AND THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

The Virginia Company and the Merchant Adventurers being both connected with the early efforts of the Pilgrims in their colonizing enterprise, we will trace these phenomena briefly from the beginning.

In 1584 an expedition under patent from Elizabeth, was fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and the first discovery was made, and rude possession taken, of the country then first named Virginia. Its extent took in the whole United States, being very indefinitely comprehensive. Some attempts were immediately made for colonizing, but they came to nothing.

In the year 1602, Captain Bart. Gosnold, setting out for Virginia, discovered Cape Cod. He made so successful a voyage, that on his return, two companies were incorporated by King James in one Patent, bearing date of April 10th, 1606. The first Company consisting of members of the honorable city of London, and such adventurers as might join with them, were restricted to that part of the Coast of Virginia, between 34 and 41 degrees north latitude. The second company, from the cities of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and other western parts of England, had their range between 38 and 45 degrees. They were permitted to settle 100 miles along the coast, and 100 miles within land, but were to keep 100 miles from each

other's limits. The whole country, including all New England, was then called Virginia, and was particularized by no other distinction than that of the names of Virginia North and South.

The proprietors of the patent for South Virginia began their settlement that same year, 1606, on James's River, and the next year laid the foundations of Jamestown.

The proprietors of the patent for North Virginia, Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and others (sometimes called the Plymouth Company, as those of the South were called the London Company), likewise attempted a settlement at the North, which utterly failed, in the same years in which God was removing from England into Holland that Church Vine for which he was reserving the possessions of these Northern Patentees. These men, after a few unsuccessful efforts, gave up all thought of any plantation.

In the year 1614 came the voyage of Captain Smith, with his plan of North Virginia, which he called New England; and after this date the name Virginia is confined to the possessions of the London Company, or the Southern Colony. And it was with this Virginia Company that the Pilgrims first endeavored to make their arrangements. And it was in the year 1617, when they first set on foot their plan of removal to America, that the great plague visited New England, and swept away thousands upon thousands of the natives.

Upon their talk of removing, sundry persons of note among the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers. "But choosing to go under the English government, where they might enjoy their religious privileges without molestation, after humble prayers to God they first debated whether to go to Guiana or Virginia. And though some, and none of the meanest, were earnest for the former, they at length determined for the latter, so as to settle in a distant body, but under the gene-

ral government of Virginia. Upon which they sent Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver to treat with the Virginia Company, and see if the King would give them Liberty of Conscience there." *

Doubtless, if the King had given them Liberty of Conscience there, they would have gone out under the government of Virginia. And ill would it have fared with them, if that had been the case. For Virginia had been colonized by persons strongly attached to the Establishment, and under strict injunctions from the King that "the word and service of God should be preached and used according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." They would certainly have had difficulty there, even with a separate Charter, for Liberty of Conscience, with a seal as broad as a barn-floor. It had been wisely objected that "if they lived among the English which were planted at Virginia, or so near them as to be under their government, they would be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for their cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse." Nevertheless, they seem to have thought that an article from the King concerning liberty of conscience would secure all; and their determination was, if they could get it, to go out under the Virginia Company. To this end they sent Cushman and Carver to England.

But though these agents of Mr. Robinson's people "find the Virginia company" (says Governor Bradford) "very desirous of their going to the West India Territory, and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they could grant to any, and some of the chief of the company doubted not to obtain their suit of the King for Liberty in Religion, and to have it under the broad seal, as was desired, yet they found it a harder piece of work than they expected. For though many means were used, and diverse

* Prince's Chronology, Part I. p. 49.

persons of worth, with Sir Robert Naunton, chief Secretary of State, labored with the King to obtain it, and others wrought with the Archbishop to give way thereto, yet all in vain. They indeed prevail so far, as that the King would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carry peaceably; but to tolerate them by his public authority, under his seal, could not be granted. Upon which the agents return to Leyden, to the great discouragement of the people who sent them."*

This was a most auspicious discouragement and refusal. The mind pauses upon the idea of our Pilgrim Fathers making their first settlement in the West Indies, and one cannot but see in imagination the train of evils that would thence have ensued, in the undoubted flocking of a herd of worthless adventurers to swamp the Colony in that delicious climate, with indolence, divisions, insubordination, and dissolute habits. They would better have gone to Guiana, the romantic paradise of Raleigh's genius, whither his book of description, published in 1596, had directed their attention, as to a fair, rich, and mighty empire, where the trees were in delicious groves, where the deer came at call, where the evening birds were singing a thousand charming tunes to gentle airs in the forest, and where the very stones beneath their feet promised gold and silver. But these golden images had little power over the souls of the Pilgrims.

Casting themselves upon Divine Providence, they resolved to venture, getting as good a patent as they could, even without Liberty of Conscience. After long vexation and delay, through the disturbances and factions into which the Virginia Company had fallen, they did at length, in 1619, obtain a patent granted and confirmed under the Virginia Company's Seal. But here again, God was beforehand with them, arranging for them their disappointments as well as their accomplishments. The patent was taken out in the name of Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentle-

* Prince, from Bradford, 50.

man of the household of the Countess of Lincoln, whose intention had been to go with them. But God so ordered that he never went, and they never made the least use of his patent, though it had cost them so much expense and labor.

Here first rise into notice those Merchant Adventurers, under agreement with whom, and partly at whose charge, the Pilgrims did at length begin their settlement. The patent which they had obtained was carried, says Governor Bradford, by one of their messengers to Leyden, for the people to consider, together with several proposals for their transmigration, made by Mr. Thomas Weston, of London, Merchant, and such other friends and merchants as should either go or adventure with them. And so they were requested to prepare with speed for the voyage, leaving it with their agents, Messrs. Cushman and Carver, to perfect the arrangements in England with the Merchant Adventurers.

Meanwhile the noblemen and gentlemen engaged before in the old patent for North Virginia were seeking a new and separate patent of incorporation for New England, under the style and title of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, in America, which, says Mr. Prince, is the great and civil basis of all the future patents and plantations that divide this country. This patent they at length obtained from King James; but it was not signed by the King until long after the Pilgrims had set sail, not indeed till Nov. 3d, 1620, just before the May Flower anchored in Cape Cod Harbor. There the Pilgrims were to land in New England, unchartered by any earthly power, and were to take possession at Plymouth of their desired retreat in the wilderness, in full liberty of conscience, unpatented and unfettered. A patent for them under the new incorporation was not till afterwards taken out in the name of Mr. John Peirce, who, as we have seen, treacherously endeavored to secure it under

his own power, allowing the Colony only what privileges he pleased.

In their arrangements for the voyage, and the business foundation and management of the Colony, the Pilgrims were very much at the mercy of the Merchant Adventurers, their own finances, after the expenses they were at, being in an exhausted state. They had to rely upon Mr. Weston and the Merchants for shipping and money to assist in their transportation. They therefore entered into a seven years' co-partnership with the Merchant Adventurers, so as to form with them one company, the articles being greatly to the advantage of the Merchants, and hard upon the Pilgrims, as might naturally be supposed. The most that is known of these Adventurers, except what was developed afterwards in regard to the character of individuals, is recorded by Captain John Smith, in the year 1624. "The adventurers," says he, "which raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation, were about seventy, some merchants, some handicraftsmen, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their affections served. The general stock already employed is about 7000 pounds, by reason of which charge and many crosses, many would adventure no more; but others, that know so great charge cannot be effected without both losses and crosses, are resolved to go forward with it to their powers; which deserve no small commendation and encouragement. These dwell most about London. They are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination, in a society, without constraint or penalty, aiming to do good, and to plant religion."

Captain Smith seems not to have been aware of the divisions and conspiracies among a number of the members of this company. These things connected the history of the Merchant Adventurers for a little time, disastrously, as it seemed to human judgment, but beneficially, doubtless, in the result, with the progress of the Colony.

CHAPTER III.

THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.—ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE PILGRIMS—OTHERWISE THE CO-PARTNERSHIP.—END OF THE COMPANY.

To do good and to plant religion, was far from being the desire, as the sequel proved, of some of these men. Some of them became enemies of the Colony; others endeavored treacherously to upset its church and government, and entered into a conspiracy for that purpose. Some of them were bitter enemies of Robinson, and endeavored successfully to hinder his joining the Colony, being afraid of his powerful religious influence. Their character and treacherous dealings are partly laid open in a letter from Robinson himself to Brewster, preserved in Dr. Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, in which he says—"As for these adversaries, if they have but half their will to their malice, they will stop my course when they see it intended." It was a faction of the Adventurers, as we shall see, who sent over to the Colony that miserable creature, Lyford, to be their minister, in order to hinder Mr. Robinson, and whose base intentions were so signally exposed and defeated by the prudence and energy of Governor Bradford. On the whole, the Colony suffered much from these Adventurers, although some of them were sincerely pious men, bent on doing good; firm and undeviating friends to the

Colonists, and laboring with them, and intending to join them in person.

Of this number was Mr. James Sherley, so honorably noticed by Governor Bradford, as a chief friend of the plantation. Mr. Cushman had written to the Governor, informing him of the sore sickness of Sherley, when he lay at the point of death; declaring his love and helpfulness in all things, and bemoaning the loss of the Pilgrims if God should take him away, as being the stay and life of the business.

But it is evident enough there were not many of this noble stamp. Some of those the most relied upon proved enemies, as was found in the case of this Mr. Thomas Weston, who took so prominent and busy a part in getting the Pilgrims away, and who came from London to Southampton, to see them finally despatched. There was some trouble with him even at the outset; for May 25th, 1620, Mr. Robinson had to write to Mr. Carver, complaining of Mr. Weston's neglect in getting shipping in England, for want of which they were in a piteous case at Leyden. But his character was not fully revealed till the year 1622, when he sent out two ships and a band of men to settle a plantation for himself, in Massachusetts Bay, for which he had procured a patent. The notice of this colony will be given in another chapter; but at present we make in this connexion an extract from Governor Bradford's Journal, as given in Prince, which is as follows, under date of the spring of 1623:—

"Shortly after Mr. Weston's people went to the eastward, he comes there himself, with some of the fishermen, under another name, and disguise of a blacksmith; where he hears the ruin of his plantation, and getting a shallop with a man or two, comes to see how things are, but in a storm is cast away in the bottom of the bay between Piscataquak and Merrimack river, and hardly escapes with his life. Afterwards he falls into the hands of the Indians, who pillage him of all he saved from the sea, and strip

him of all his clothes to his shirt. At length he gets to Piscataquak, borrows a suit of clothes, finds means to come to Plymouth, and desires to borrow some beaver of us. Notwithstanding our straits, yet in consideration of his necessity, we let him have 170 odd pounds of beaver, with which he goes to the Eastward, stays his small ship and some of his men, buys provision and fits himself, which is the foundation of his future courses; and yet he never repaid us any thing save reproaches, and becomes our enemy on all occasions."*

But now the Colony, in the good providence of God, was rapidly getting beyond the reach of enmity, and in a condition to command friends. In England men began more and more to look thitherward across the ocean, as a refuge from the evils of their own home.

Mr. Sherley himself, who recovered from the dangerous illness spoken of above, wrote to the Plymouth Colonists, Dec. 27, 1627,† describing, in part, the enmity of the Adventurers, against both the Pilgrims and himself. "The sole cause," says he, "why the greater part of the Adventurers malign me, was, that I would not side with them against you, and against the coming over of the Leyden people; and assuredly, unless the Lord be merciful to us and the whole land in general, our condition is far worse than yours. Wherefore, if the Lord should send persecution here, which is much to be feared, and should put into our minds to fly for refuge, I know no place safer than to come to you."

Looking to the character and ends of many of these Merchant Adventurers, as thus developed, and considering the manner in which the pilgrims were thrown into their power, when they entered into co-partnership with them for the commencement of the Colony, we read without surprise the articles and conditions of their agreement. With-

* Prince's New Eng. Chron., vol i. p. 134. † Prince, vol. i. p. 169.

out consenting to these conditions, the Pilgrims could not have been transported to America. Mr. Weston had much of the management in his hands, and Mr. Cushman, the principal agent of the Pilgrims, found himself compelled to accede to the proposals, "although they were very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage, and hard enough for the poor people, that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates." To the reluctance expressed, and complaints made, Mr. Cushman was obliged to answer, "that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground; and necessity, they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent."

The co-partnership was for seven years. The shares were ten pounds each. For every person going, the personality (that is, from sixteen years of age) was accounted one share for him, and every ten pounds put in by him, was accounted an additional share. At the end of the copartnership of seven years, all the possessions of the colony, with everything gained by them, were to be equally divided among the whole of the Adventurers, Merchants as well as Pilgrims. Such was the essence of the copartnership, on the grounds of which alone the Pilgrims could find friends to help them in getting to America. Such a trading company was none of their seeking, nor was it the object of their religious enterprise; but God made use of it for them, as we have said, in the place of pulleys and frame-work, to hoist the stones of his Living Temple into their intended position; and when that was done, the frame-work went into various uses and places, but was much of it, as useless lumber, thrown away.

In form, the Articles of Agreement between the Pilgrims and the Merchant Adventurers were precisely as follows, in ten particulars:

1. The Adventurers and Planters do agree that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upwards, be

rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the divisions shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported, and the Adventurers, shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock until the division.

4. That at their coming there, they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and the profits, namely, the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the Adventurers.

6. Whoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth anything into the stock, shall, at the end of the seven years, be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person now aged sixteen years and upwards, a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

8. That such children as now go, and are under the age of ten years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the Colony.

10. That all such persons as are of the Colony to have meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of said Colony.

Such was the rigorous contract, by which alone the Pilgrims were enabled to raise the means for their transportation and first establishment as a Colony.

Under these agreements it might well be said that it cost the first Pilgrims seven years of hard labor to get from England to America. This copartnership was in reality their passage money. They had to "prepare for it with speed, sell their estates, and put their money into a common stock, to be disposed by their managers for making general provisions." They then had, for some years, a dependence upon, and connexion with, the Merchant Adventurers, which grew more and more perplexing every month. It proved the means of introducing worthless men among them, or round about them, Canaanites and Jebusites to be yet in the land, as thorns for them. Some, who came to join the Pilgrims, at the bidding or permission of the Merchant Adventurers, "were so bad, that they were forced to be at the charge to send them home the very next year." But any expense could better be endured than the presence of such vicious, corrupting, destructive elements among them.

In the summer of 1623 there came a letter to the Pilgrims subscribed by thirteen of the Adventurers, kindly, and encouraging. "Let it not be grievous to you," said they, "that you have been the instruments to break the ice for others, who come after with less difficulty; the honor shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all,

as are the hearts of hundreds more, which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray your safety as their own."

But in the spring of 1624, Mr. Winslow, whom the Pilgrims had sent over as their agent, returned from England, bringing a "sad account of a strong faction among the Adventurers against us, and especially against the coming of Mr. Robinson, and the rest from Leyden." The result of the conspiracy of this faction, as well as the nature and purpose of it, will be seen detailed in our Chapter concerning the first imposition of a minister. We have now only to follow the Adventurers to the end of their copartnership.

By the year 1624, the general stock already employed by the Adventurers to Plymouth, as related in Prince from Smith's History, was about seven thousand pounds.

By the year 1625, upon the discovery and explosion of the plot against the Pilgrims, and the decision of Oldham, who was the instrument of the faction among the Merchants, to stay at Nantasket and trade for himself, "the company of Adventurers to Plymouth," says Governor Bradford, "brake in pieces, two thirds of them deserting us."

But they not only deserted the Colony, but turned against it, and went so far as to attempt undermining its trade and taking its property. They sent out a ship for fishing, and took the stage of the Pilgrims and other provisions, or arrangements prepared the year before for fishing at Cape Ann at a great expense on the part of the Colony, and refused to restore the property without fighting. "Upon which," as the record reads in Mr. Prince's Chronology, "we let them keep it, and our Governor sends some planters to help the fishermen build another."

Upon which we let them keep it. What an instance of noble, Christian magnanimity and forbearance! When Captain Miles Standish came, he could hardly endure it, and was for reclaiming it by force with a soldier's arguments; but the nobler conquest by far was that of a proud

generosity and Christian principle that would not fight for a summer's fishing tackle; and the end was, *we let them keep it*, and much good may it do them.

Some of the Adventurers still remained friendly to the Pilgrims. We shall see further detail in regard to their character, letters, and measures, in the Chapter on Governor Bradford's Letter Book. At present they wrote by Mr. Winslow as follows:

"We cannot forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship we have had some years. Our hearty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less than to our nearest friends, yea, to our own selves. As there has been a faction among us more than two years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. The Company's debts are no less than 1400 pounds, and we hope you will do your best to free them. We are still persuaded you are the people that must make a plantation in those remote places, where all others fail. We have sent some cattle, clothes, hoes, shoes, leather, &c., for Allerton and Winslow to sell as our factors."

The positive proof accompanying these professions of friendship was, that the goods were ordered to be sold at the enormous rate of seventy per cent. advance; a thing, as Governor Bradford quietly remarks, "thought unreasonable, and a great oppression." Seventy per cent. advance, and hearty affections as to their own selves! Somewhat, still, of bitter experience for the Pilgrims; but there was no help for it, and the cattle they found the best commodity. A very unconscious satire, on their part.

On the receipt of these affections, cattle, shoes, &c., the Pilgrims despatched Captain Standish as their agent "both to the remaining Adventurers for more goods, and to the New England Council, to oblige the others (the factious and inimical Adventurers) to come to a composition." They chose the military man of the Colony for this, one who would fear nothing, and possessed a marvellous de-

gree of decision and energy of character. But the Captain arrived in London in the very midst of the Plague; not the great Plague described by De Foe, but its forerunner by some years; when such multitudes were dying every week, that Trade itself was dead, and no business could be accomplished. Nevertheless, the Captain engaged several of the New England Council to promise their helpfulness to the plantation; but the friendly Adventurers he found so weakened by losses, that they could do but little. The Captain had to take up 150 pounds at the enormous rate of fifty per cent. interest. And when he returned he brought the sad news not only of great losses sustained by some of their friends, but of the death of others by the Plague, and above all, that their beloved Pastor Robinson, whom they had been hoping to welcome among them, had gone to his rest. Their ancient friend, Mr. Cushman, was also dead, "their right hand with the Adventurers, who for years had managed all their business with them, to their great advantage."

At length, in the autumn of 1626, they sent over Mr. Allerton, who, after no small trouble, with the help of some faithful, energetic friends, brought the Adventurers to a settlement. They agreed to sell out to the Pilgrims all their interest in the Colony for the sum of 1800 pounds, of which 200 should be paid every year, beginning in 1628. The Colonists rejoiced in this arrangement, although, being forced to take up money or goods at such enormous interest, they scarcely knew how to raise the payment, and at the same time discharge their other engagements, and supply their own wants. Seven or eight of the principal men among them had to become jointly bound, in behalf of the rest, for the whole amount. Besides this, the whole Colony were anxious to assist their friends at Leyden to get over to them; and for this purpose eight foremost men among them, with the three friendly Adventurers in England, Sherley, Beauchamp, and Andrews, entered into an en-

gagement, taking the trade of the Colony for six years, to pay all their debts, and transport the remainder of the Church from Leyden to Plymouth. By means of this arrangement, thirty-five of their friends with their families were enabled to join them in 1629, their expenses being paid, from 30 to 50 pounds a family; "besides giving them houses, preparing them grounds to plant on, and maintaining them with corn and other necessaries above 13 or 14 months, before they had a harvest of their own production." The names of the Pilgrims by whom this difficult work was accomplished, in connexion with the friendly Adventurers above named, were Governor Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton.

But their charge did not end here. In May, 1630, another company of their Leyden brethren arrived in the harbor of Salem, the cost of whose provision and transportation from Holland to England, from England to Salem, and from Salem with their goods to Plymouth, was all cheerfully borne by the same "New Plymouth Undertakers," before named; amounting to above five hundred and fifty pounds sterling, "besides the providing them housing, preparing them ground, and maintaining them with food for sixteen or eighteen months, before they had a harvest of their own; all which came to nearly as much more. A rare example of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises to their brethren, even beyond their power."*

These were great charges, but the Pilgrims had now everything under their own control. The perplexities of their copartnership with the Adventurers were at an end; in their business arrangements they might deal now only with brethren and friends; and they regarded the coming of the remainder of the Leyden Church, which once seemed

* Bradford in Prince, 201.

so hopeless, as a recompense from Heaven with a double blessing. They received the new companies of "godly friends and Christian brethren, as the beginning of a larger harvest to Christ, in the increase of his people and Churches in these parts of the earth, to the admiration of many, and almost wonder of the world."

CHAPTER IV.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH IN ENGLAND, AND THE FIRST CHURCH COMPACT.

While men were contriving their pilgrimages and colonies of gain, God was arranging his of principle, and was selecting its instruments. It was the work of his Church. It was simply the early dispensation renewed, when men of God, scattered abroad by persecution, went preaching the word, and founding word-colonies of grace, amidst the wilderness of a Pagan civilization. But now a whole church was to be transplanted. Its materials must first be gathered and disciplined; and for these God went into the despised non-conforming cottages and conventicles of England. There were noble preachers of God's Word then, even amidst all the turmoil and persecution about ceremonies; and the minister who would be a free and fearless preacher of God's Word at such a time, teaching God's fear, *not* by the precepts of men, would likely be God's honored instrument in preparing the materials for his intended Church Colony.

Divine grace, as well as human wrath, must have been at work with great power at that period. Men who became Christians under such oppressions as they had to endure if they embraced the new discovered, but ancient truth of the independence of the Church under Christ only, would likely become such through deep and powerful experience.

"I am afraid," said Sir Walter Raleigh, in a speech deprecating their banishment from England by oppression, "I am afraid there are nearly twenty thousand of these men; and when they are driven out of the Kingdom, who shall support their wives and children?" But mere driving them out of the Kingdom had been mercy, in comparison with the treatment they received. One whole Church, perhaps the earliest on independent principles formed in England, was hunted out by the sharp and eager cruelty of the Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, the very year of its formation in London, in 1592, and fifty-six of its members were imprisoned, beaten, put to death in various ways, some by the inhuman cruelties of their confinement, some upon the gallows. The Queen's Commissioners, when these victims of the Protestant Persecutor refused to play the hypocrite by going to the State-Church, let them know that it was not piety to God they wished for, but obedience to the Queen; and that with that they might do and be whatever of evil in religion they pleased. "Come to Church," said they, "and obey the Queen's laws; and be a dissembler, a hypocrite, or a devil, if thou wilt." So this band of Christ's followers perished in England. It was not quite yet God's time for the sacred Colony.

The foundation of the Pilgrim Church, and therefore the *tap-root* of New-England, runs back to the year 1602, when, in Governor Bradford's words, "several religious people near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, finding their pious ministers urged with subscriptions, or silenced, and the people greatly vexed with Commissary Courts, Apparitors, and Pursuivants, which they bare sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means, to see further into these things by the light of the Word of God,—shake off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage; and as the Lord's free people, join themselves by covenant into a church-state, to walk in

all his ways, made known, or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it cost them."

The clearer and further insight, which these religious men, by means of these trials and persecutions obtained, by the light of God's Word, are stated by Governor Bradford to have been "that the ceremonies prescribed were unlawful, and also the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates, who would, contrary to the freedom of the Gospel, load the consciences of men, and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of things and persons in divine worship; that their offices, courts, and canons were unlawful, being such as have no warrant in the Word of God, but the same that were used in Popery, and still retained."*

This little church compact, among a few despised persons, totally unknown in the world and uncared for, was one of the greatest events that had then ever taken place in the world's history. Out of that grew the celebrated civil and religious compact on board the May Flower; out of that, indeed, sprang all the institutions of civil and religious freedom in our country. That Church Compact in the Old World was the beginning both of form and life to the New.

That little church covenant, that phenomenon of dissent, and conventicles, unnoticed at that time, except by the great red dragon of the twelfth of Revelations, was as the ridge of a mountain breaking suddenly out of the polished scurf and dust of established church despotisms, and rising to throw that bondage from the world. It is still rising, all over the earth, and the mountain of the Lord's House shall be established upon this top of the mountains, and all nations shall at length flow into it. It was a free, voluntary church, gathered by the Spirit of the Lord, and not by man's sacramental oaths and rubrics. A world was now to be

* Bradford in Prince, 4.

founded, with no more mere ecclesiastico-political societies under the name of National Churches, combining together, like so many national menageries, bears, and calves, and sheep, and wild bulls of Bashan, and presenting a mere caricature of the prophetic reign of peace and righteousness on earth; the wolf and the lamb, the leopard and the kid, the cow and the bear, the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child leading them. This beautiful prediction in Isaiah was certainly never intended to be accomplished by driving together with fines and penalties the religious and the irreligious, the converted and the unconverted, to the Lord's Table, in the Lord's House, and proclaiming by law, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are these!

But how obscurely does God often begin the greatest of his revealing dispensations! An old, old man, with a long white beard, takes a little child in his arms in the Jewish temple, and exclaims, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" It is the fulfilment of predictions, for which the great globe itself has been kept in its orbit for centuries. It is the beginning of a new creation of God. The personages disappear from the eye of sense, and the ages silently roll on, but the dispensation then begun, enlarges, till the whole world is filled with it.

So, down among the obscurities of Lincolnshire, where no creature in the world knew what was going on, the lost old primitive model of the Christian Church was begun again, under Christ, the Shepherd and Bishop of Souls. If it *had* been known what great things were to spring from that covenant, all other interests at the gates of hell would have been left unguarded, to crush and annihilate that little despised band of worshippers. But yet in what utter obscurity the effort begins! We love to dwell upon the scene, and upon Gov. Bradford's simple language, "Several did, as the Lord's free people, join themselves by covenant

into a church-state, to walk in all his ways, according to their best endeavours, whatever it cost them."

Aye! *Whatever it cost them!* A great sentence is that. They knew almost as little, then, what it would reveal, as the gates of hell knew of their whole movement. And how wonderfully, from step to step, they were led on! It might be said, with reference to the great enterprise, then wholly unknown, undreamed of, to which God would prepare and bring them, "I girded thee, though thou hast not known me." They knew God, but what God was going to do with them they knew not, nor what their first step would cost them. It was by the providential discipline of God, with the intolerable severities of the Establishment as its instruments, that they came to the discovery of the great truth, that as Christ's disciples they *were* really the Lord's free people, who *might*, if they pleased, join themselves by covenant into a church state, who had that liberty from Christ, though neither asking leave of any Established Church, nor constituted by any king or bishop. Why! this was one of the greatest lessons ever taught by Divine Providence, ever learned from his word through suffering. The whole world was against it. If that question had been brought before any set of men then in existence, had it even been carried to Geneva, and laid before the church of Calvin there, had it been carried to Germany, and proposed to a Lutheran synod there, in its bare simplicity, as taught of God, it would have been negatived. The question, can we, "*several religious people*," we, "two or three gathered together," constitute a church? Can we constitute *ourselves into* a church, and be regarded *as* a church, and lawfully choose our own minister, under Christ only?—this question would in most quarters have been answered by pursuivants and bailiffs, in prisons and Courts of High Commission. In the opinion of the rulers of the Church then in England it was a mortal sin "for a man that had been at church twice on

the Lord's Day to repeat the heads of the sermons to his family in the evening; a crime that deserved fines, imprisonment, and the forfeiture of all that was dear to a man in the world." "If any will not be quiet, and shew his obedience, the church," said King James, "were better without him, and he were worthy to be hanged." And Archbishop Whitgift said that his Majesty spake by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost.*

Long and arduously did the persecuting rulers of the Church labor at their work of smelting out this precious ore of truth, this doctrine of Christian liberty. Busily were they running to and fro, conveying the metal from one forge and furnace to another, sweating at their fires and anvils, with the great trip-hammers of Church and State despotism at command, thinking, forsooth, that they were burning and beating down, out of existence, all idea, all thought, all dream of freedom, when they were merely God's instruments to discipline and beat the consciences of our fathers, out of their remaining bondage and darkness into liberty and light. This great act of joining themselves by covenant into a church-state was one, into which the providence of God did, as it were, compel the Pilgrims, anxious and doubtful at first, but at length *free*, without the least mixture of fear or superstition. After that step, great and rapid was the increase of their light and liberty, and God's discipline, in preparation for the removal of the vine out of Egypt, was immediate.

* Prince 10, 11.—Neal's History of the Puritans.—Fuller's Church History.

CHAPTER V.

COMPARISON OF GOD'S PREPARATORY PROVIDENCES.—THE PLAGUE AMONG THE SAVAGES.—SQUANTO, AND THE PILGRIMS' WELCOME.

THAT we may watch and compare God's marvellous providences in this thing, the date is to be marked, 1602. This was the time when God took from a persecuting Church-Establishment the seed-corn which he was to prepare for the planting of his church in New England, for an entirely new dispensation of his grace in our world.

In that same year, 1602, the same Divine Providence carried Bartholomew Gosnold to the discovery of Cape Cod, where God would soon carry the seed he was thus gathering and preparing. The coincidence of these dates is remarkable. It is also remarkable that both in this expedition of Gosnold, in 1602, and in that of our Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, God's providence disappointed man's will, preventing entirely the first intended settlement, and turning the last from its intended place to a spot not even within the limits of the charter. Gosnold's expedition was directed to Virginia, a general and most indefinite designation at that time, comprising almost the whole present seacoast of the United States. Intending a shorter cut than had before been attempted by the more southerly adventurers, Gosnold steered more directly across the ocean, and at length brought up at Cape Cod, where he probably cast the first lines ever thrown for a fish which was to be-

come as solid, fundamental, and useful a staple of the New England seas, as the granite should be of the New England continent. An honest, hearty, homely, enduring fish, susceptible of much salt, and the better for keeping. The Cod and the Granite are no ignoble symbols of New England wealth and character.

"Therefore honorable and worthy countrymen," said Captain Smith to the people of England, at the close of one of his relations of his voyages, "let not the meanness of the word fish distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potassie, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility." By the discipline of industry and piety God would make the rocky coasts and harbors of New England a Potosi of riches, such as all the mountain mines of silver and gold in the world could not create. But of this, either Bart. Gosnold or Captain Smith thought little. And what mind at that period could have been sagacious enough to cast even a guess over the future of the two centuries?

Cape Cod contains now about 32,000 inhabitants. Here and at Nantucket and New Bedford, as well as around Cape Ann, are the cradles of our seamen; yea, the Capes themselves, far stretching into the Atlantic, are almost rocked by its magnificent tempests. As long as the English language lasts, the enthusiastic eulogy will never be forgotten, passed by the great mind of Edmund Burke, upon the seamen of the coasts of New England, near a hundred years ago, while dwelling upon the wealth which the colonies had drawn from the sea by their fisheries. He told the British Government that if their envy was excited by those great acquisitions, yet the spirit with which that enterprising employment had been exercised, ought rather to have raised their esteem and admiration; for what in the world was equal to it? "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and fine sagacity of English enterprise ever carried this most

perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. Through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection. The colonies have not been squeezed into their happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government." The moment those constraints began to be applied, then the generous nature that had grown up without them, spurned them, and England lost her whole colonial possessions south of Canada, by attempting despotically to do what she pleased with them.

When our fathers first landed at Cape Cod, there seem to have been plenty of whales and seals, as well as codfish, in those seas. They found the Grampus so abundant, that at one place they were minded, on that account, to call the harbor Grampus Bay. Sometimes they had a shot at a whale, but never enjoyed the sport of catching one: "when the whale saw her time," says their quaint description, "she gave a snuff and away."

Out of Gosnold's discovery grew an incorporated trading company for North Virginia in 1606, but no settlement. In 1608 came the attempted settlement and failure on the banks of the Sagadahock, under Popham and Gilbert. In 1614, Captain John Smith made his survey of the country and presented a plan of it to King Charles, then the Prince Royal, who gave it the name of New England; well baptized for the Pilgrims, but a miserable godfather. From its very first discovery, every attempt to colonize or settle this country for mere purposes of gain or trade, failed, and at length all thoughts of it seemed to be abandoned, except as far as concerned the keeping of small summer stations by private adventurers for traffic with the Indians. And so it went on, till the year 1620, when God had brought his own vine out of Egypt, and was ready to plant it in the region which he and not man had chosen for it.

He had not only put the mark of discovery upon that region, but also, a few years afterwards, in a very signal manner "cast out the heathen" before the Vine which was to be planted. Just after the survey by Captain Smith, and the naming of the country, New England, the whole extent of sea-coast from Maine to Rhode Island was almost depopulated by the visitation of a deadly plague. Turning to the Journal of the Pilgrims under date of March 16th, 1621, we find the first personal conversation recounted, which any of the Pilgrims were able to hold with the natives; the first intelligible word uttered from the man's lips being the sweet English word "Welcome!" which, from a savage in the wilderness, must have seemed a miracle. This stark naked barbarian, whose name was Samoset, of the Massasoits, had learned enough English from various fishermen at different times to hold a broken conversation, and he was "a man free in speech," considering the limited extent of his acquisitions. He spoke, among other things, of the pestilence. "He told us that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it." The accounts of this devastating death had reached England before the Pilgrims embarked for America, and the providence of God in regard to it was named in the very patent given by the King, as a reason for giving it, under the assurance that God's time had come for the possession of the country by the subjects of England, the whole territory being so completely depopulated and thrown out of ownership by "that wonderful plague." Out of the bosom of that death came that refreshing word, "welcome." For in all probability death itself, by fierce savage war, would have greeted our fathers, instead of welcome, had those thirty thousand fighting men of the native tribe of the Massachusetts, whom the pestilence is said to have re-

duced down to three hundred, been living. The treachery of the English at various times, and especially the infamous kidnapping expedition under T. Hunt, in the absence of Captain Smith, had enraged the natives, and inspired them with a deadly purpose of revenge; so that, if this terrific pestilence had not cut them down, they would, in all likelihood, have massacred every man, woman, and child of the colony, the very first opportunity.

But even out of that infamous former treachery and cruelty of the English, God would bring a blessing to those whom he had chosen, and who were acting on the principles of love and uprightness revealed in his word. Here comes into notice the oft-mentioned Squanto, remarkable for his attachment to the colony. He was the only native left of Patuxet, or Plymouth, all the rest of the inhabitants, man, woman, and child, having been carried off by the plague; and he probably would have shared in the same death, had he not been one of the twenty Indians mentioned in the journal, whom the villain Hunt carried into Spain and sold for slaves, about the year 1615. He sold them, it appears, for twenty pounds a piece, "like a wretched man, that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit." But Squanto, by the good providence of God, escaped from his captivity, and got into England, where he dwelt awhile at Cornhill, in London, with Mr. Slanie, a merchant, and learned to speak English. In the year 1619, Squanto was brought back to New England by Mr. Dormer, whose object was to quiet the enraged Indians, and re-establish the trade that had been broken up by the war, which grew out of Hunt's villany. Squanto at that time did all he could to pacify his countrymen, informing them that Hunt's treachery had been condemned by the English, but that the other English were not like him; but he did not succeed, for the Indians fell upon Mr. Dormer and his company, and would have killed Dormer himself, "had not Squanto entreated hard for him." Squanto was also the means of

saving two Frenchmen about the same time.* It is said that at his native country Squanto found them "all dead," and here the Pilgrims found *him* their friend, the only native of that place, whither God had brought *them* for their settlement. He acted as their interpreter, helped them in the planting of their corn, showed them how to set, dress, and tend it (their Indian corn), and in every possible way seems to have befriended them. Sometimes in the midst of want, he would bring them eels, which he had caught in the mud. He often acted as their guide, and he and Captain Standish seem to have been great friends to one another. But he was not long spared, for in November, 1622, he fell sick of a fever and died, to the great sorrow of the Pilgrims. Before Squanto's death, Hobbamock, one of Massasoit's chief captains, had come to live with the Pilgrims as their friend, and continued always faithful to their interests. The few words in which Gov. Bradford has noticed Squanto's death are exceedingly touching. It was at the Indian Hamlet at Manamoyk, near Cape Cod, whither Squanto and the Governor had gone to trade with the Indians and get some corn. Here Squanto was seized with a fatal illness, "and here in a few days he died, desiring the Governor to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; bequeathing his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom we have a great loss."†

"*Desiring the Governor to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in Heaven.*" How truly affecting is this memorial of the untutored, but affectionate and friendly Indian! Perhaps he was taught of God, and he knew Gov. Bradford to be a good man. Squanto may have been the first fruit of the prayers and instructions of the Pilgrims, the forerunner of that descent of the Holy Spirit upon the

* Prince's New England Chronology, vol. i., pages 63, 99, 100. Neal's History of New England, vol. i., pages 20, 21.

† Prince, vol. i., p. 124.

Indians, which produced so wondrous a work of God under the efforts of Elliot.

The Englishman's God in Heaven! Poor, ignorant, simple-hearted savage! nearer, by far, to the kingdom of heaven in his darkness, than thousands upon thousands of the favored Englishmen, amidst all their light! One cannot but hope that Squanto's heart had been really visited by the Spirit of God. We can readily conceive what a kind and tender interest a man like Governor Bradford would have taken in his conversion, and with what gravity and patient assiduity he would have labored to instruct him in the truths of the Gospel. Squanto well knew that the Governor was a man of prayer.

Prayer is the Christian's vital breath,
The Christian's native air;
His watchword at the gate of death,
He enters heaven with prayer.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH AT LEYDEN AND THE PASTOR ROBINSON. —THE VINE BROUGHT OUT OF EGYPT, BUT NOT YET PLANTED IN THE WILDERNESS.

This purely reformed church in the North of England, as Gov. Bradford styles it, was compelled, as early as the year 1606, after much suffering, to form itself into two distinct churches, by reason of the wide extent of counties and villages in which its members were scattered. In that one of these churches which God chose for the Pilgrim Church, there was then a graduate of the University of Cambridge, John Robinson, a man remarkable both for his piety and learning, whom they chose for their pastor, and who went with his flock in 1608 over into Holland. Before his connexion with that church he had held a preferment in the Church of England, but with views so inclined towards the Puritans, that he could not escape the persecuting notice of Archbishop Bancroft. Mr. Neal speaks of him as "a Norfolk divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, being often molested by the bishop's officers, and his friends almost ruined in the ecclesiastical courts."* Unquestionably, could he have conformed to the church, and seen no further than the bishops saw, or with their spectacles, he had been advanced to great dignities and comforts of the establishment; but his views of truth and freedom

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii., p. 72.

were too clear and conscientious for that, and he rather chose to endure affliction with that people of God with whom he saw most of God's truth and spirit, than remain in Egypt. He was to be one of God's chosen instruments in bringing his vine out of Egypt, and preparing it for its planting in the wilderness.

Their removal into Holland was a work of incomparably greater difficulty, hardship, and danger, than they could have imagined; for they were beset with persecuting enemies, and threatened by them every step of the way. They were thrown into prison, betrayed, robbed, and treated with barbarous indecency and cruelty. It took near a whole year of labor and trial to accomplish this first pilgrimage, beginning in the fall of 1607, and continuing in the spring and summer of 1608. The other branch of their original church in Lincolnshire, under the care of Mr. John Smith as pastor, had gone over to Amsterdam before them, and it would seem with much less difficulty from external enemies; but they soon fell into difficulties among themselves, which Robinson and the Pilgrim Church avoided meddling with by removing afterwards to Leyden. The Pilgrims had chosen Robinson for their pastor before they thought of an exile from England, and his counsel was of the greatest service to them. The first notice of their removal given by Mr. Prince from Governor Bradford's manuscript is as follows, under date of 1607: "This fall, Mr. Robinson's church in the North of England, being extremely harassed, some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, they begin to fly over to Holland, for purity of worship and liberty of conscience."

Then in the spring of 1608 we find the next record, as follows: "This spring, more of Mr. Robinson's church, through great difficulties from their pursuers, get over to Holland, and afterwards the rest, with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, who are of the last, having tarried to help

the weakest over before them. They first settle in Amsterdam, and stay there a year, where Mr. Smith and his church had gotten before them."

Then in 1609 we find the following record, which conveys nearly all that we can learn respecting the causes of their removal from Amsterdam to Leyden; "Mr. Robinson's church having staid at Amsterdam about a year, seeing Mr. Smith and his company was fallen into contention with the church that was there before him, and that the flames thereof were like to break out in that ancient church itself, as afterwards lamentably came to pass, which Mr. Robinson and church prudently foreseeing, they think it best to remove in time before they were any way engaged with the same; though they knew it would be very much to the prejudice of their outward interest, as it proved to be. Yet valuing peace and spiritual comfort above other riches, they therefore remove to Leyden about the beginning of the twelve years' truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards, choose Mr. Brewster assistant to him in the place of an elder, and then live in great love and harmony both among themselves and their neighbour citizens for above eleven years, till they remove to New England."

The Providences of God for them, though mingled with much mercy, were all the while those of change and trial. God was leading them forth out of Egypt for his own purposes, which as yet he had not revealed to them. They removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth; and they departed from Succoth and pitched in Etham. They seemed all the while to hear as of old the voice of Jehovah, "I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it to you for an heritage." God, who was with them, made them feel that

it was not for a lasting encampment in Amsterdam or Leyden, that he had brought them out, nor for themselves alone, nor for their own enjoyment, that he was leading them. God awoke within them the great purpose of crossing the ocean, and incited them to it by many inducements, providences, and trials, inward and external. God made them unwilling to bear the thought of so being exiles as to cut themselves for ever off from the language, the laws, the name, and the home of Englishmen. They saw that in Holland they were in danger of this; that to this, indeed, they were fast coming. God made them to see also that by the dissolution of foreign examples, the licentiousness of the youth around them, and the great temptations of the city, their children were becoming a prey to the great adversary of their souls, were tempted to join the army, to embark on dangerous voyages, and engage in vicious courses, so that they had reason to fear a degenerate posterity, and religion dying among them. God made them to note with grief the great and constant profanation of the Sabbath around them, and that all their efforts to stop the tide of immorality were unavailing. They desired a Christian Sabbath, they desired English laws, the English language, English manners, and an English home and education for their children. These thoughts and anxieties God caused to burn within them.

Above all, God suggested and excited in their hearts, what was at that day a peculiarity and a marvel of Christian experience, and a prophecy of the missionary spirit that should come, "an inward zeal and great hope," in the language of Governor Bradford, "of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be as stepping stones unto others for the performing of so great a work." Their first motive in getting out of Egypt had been, as it were, simply a three days'

journey into the wilderness, to sacrifice freely unto their God. They do not seem to have dreamed, while in England, of the great conception of founding a colony for God in the New World. But this was what God had for them to do, and in due time he told them of it, made them sensible of their mission, woke up in their hearts a desire for it, broke up their encampment in Etham, and caused them to stand upon the verge of the sea, ready for its crossing.

Now when we add to this the extract from that beautiful letter of Robinson and Brewster to Sir Edwin Sandys,* thanking him for his kindness, and detailing to him the reasons for encouragement and perseverance, we shall have a perfect picture of their thoughts and motives, as if there were a window in their hearts.

1st, they say, "We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us; to whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials; and that he will graciously prosper our endeavours, according to the simplicity of our hearts. Second, we are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. Third, the people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world. Fourth, we are knit together as a body, in the most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord; of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. Fifth, and lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish ourselves at home again. We know our entertainment in England and Holland. We shall much prejudice both our acts and means by removal; where, if we should be driven to return, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed

* Prince, 51. Young's Chronicles, 61.

look ever to attain the like in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their period."

In this calm and steadfast spirit, relying upon God, did these noble soldiers of Christ reason of their undertaking. They knew it was a forlorn hope, yet glorious in its very forlornness, since it cut them off from all thought but that of success, trusting in the Almighty.

Such was the spirit of John Robinson of Norfolk; and the same was manifested in the character of his friend and brother, William Brewster; quieter, perhaps, in him, but not less enduring and steadfast. Theirs was the animating spirit of the whole colony, in its commencement, as Governor Bradford's seems to have been afterwards in its guidance. Such were the feelings with which they looked towards New England; and Robinson's heart, though he never reached this country, was as much fixed upon the enterprise as that of any who engaged in it. He foresaw something of the glory of the Church of Christ in its new development, and he was certainly a most remarkable instrument in preparing God's agents and instrumentalities for so great a work.

Born in the year 1576, he was but thirty-two years of age when he commenced the pastoral care of the flock in Holland; but he soon gained there an enviable reputation for united learning and piety, and a vast influence by means of it. Even those who were his enemies because of his separation from the church of England, and the simplicity and independence of his ecclesiastical platform, called him "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the church of England." His character was briefly but beautifully drawn by Governor Bradford. "As he was a man learned, and of solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and socia-

ble in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than of any in the University. He was never satisfied in himself, till he had searched any cause or argument he had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom; and we have heard him sometimes say to his familiars that many times, both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others, but many times not himself; and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry, and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and reverenced of all that knew him, and that were acquainted with his abilities, both of friends and strangers."*

He was a man of rare foresight and prudence; qualities developed in his guidance of the Church at Amsterdam, and his counsel to remove to Leyden, leaving off strife before it be meddled with; for he saw plainly what would come to pass out of the contention which was growing in the Church that was at Amsterdam before him. But though a man of peace, he knew when to speak, and on what side, and was ready to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, though not without thorough understanding of the matter and persons in controversy. "Besides his singular abilities in divine things," says Gov. Bradford, "wherein he excelled, he was able also to give direction in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was every way as a common father unto them. And none did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to themselves, and

* Young's Chronicles, 452.

retired from the common good; as also such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of outward order, and inveigh against the evils of others, and yet be remiss in themselves, and not so careful to express a virtuous conversation. They in like manner had ever a reverent regard unto him, and had him in precious estimation, as his worth and wisdom did deserve."

It was not wonderful that this Pilgrim church, composed of such materials, and under the guidance of such a Pastor, should flourish in Leyden during the years of its settlement there; years in which they enjoyed "much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church; so as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness. And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences did arise, or offences broke out (as it cannot be but that sometimes there will, even among the best of men), they were ever so met with and nipped in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued, or else the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve; which seldom comes to pass."*

The church of the Pilgrims, indeed, under Robinson's care, was so remarkable for peace, brotherly love, and quiet industry, that it was publicly noted by the magistrates of the City as a model in those respects. "These English," said they, by way of reproof to the French Church of the Walloons in Leyden, "have lived amongst us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation

* Bradford in Young's Chronicles, 36.

come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual."

Now this love of peace in Robinson was so combined with a keen discernment and ardent love of the truth, that though always more disposed to settle contentions by the meekness and gentleness of heavenly wisdom, than to decide them by taking a part; yet whenever he conceived the truth to be at stake, there was neither indifference nor hesitation as to his side and course of duty. Disputes about indifferent things, or preferences, he never would meddle with; but whatever he saw wounding the vital interests of the truth and of Christ's Church, that he made a matter of personal anxiety, and if need were, of controversy. So it was that he became engaged in the argument against the doctrine of the Arminians in Leyden. Arminius had died in 1609. The two divinity professors elected in the university in 1612, were at opposite sides in this conflict, Episcopius being the champion of the Arminians, and Polyander of the Calvinists. The contention had grown so sharp between them that it was the matter of their daily lectures, and their disciples themselves were separated, hearing each only their own side, as is wont in such cases. But Robinson, amidst all his labors, discerning the importance of this juncture, and being determined, according to his custom, to examine candidly and thoroughly, went constantly to hear the lectures of both; whereby he became thoroughly grounded in the merits of the controversy, knew the force of all arguments used, and the shifts of the adversary, "and being himself very able, none was fitter to buckle with them, as appeared by sundry disputes; so as he began to be terrible to the Arminians."*

From his known interest in the controversy, and acquaintance with its merits, as well as the decided stand which he took in regard to it, and his ardent love of the truth, the defenders of the Calvinistic system were very

* Bradford in Prince, 36. Young's Chronicles, 41.

desirous to gain for their side the aid of his abilities. Accordingly, Polyander, with several of the most eminent preachers in the city, invited him to take up their cause on the great points in question, in a public disputation against Episcopius. This he was at first unwilling to do, being comparatively young, and regarded as a foreigner or stranger in the city, though he had been known there now for three years. But at length he yielded to Polyander's importunity, as well as his own sense of the importance of the occasion, and prepared himself for the conflict. "And when the time came," says Governor Bradford, "the Lord did so help him to defend the truth and foil his adversary, as he put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. And the like he did two or three times upon such like occasions; the which, as it caused many to praise God that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procured him much honor and respect from those learned men, and others which loved the truth."*

While he lived at Leyden, and both before and after the settlement of his flock in Plymouth, he published several works, one of the earliest of which was his Justification of separation from the Church of England, in 476 pages quarto, in the year 1610. Governor Bradford connects his notice of this work, and of the increase of Robinson's Church, in such a manner, that we might suppose the "Justification" was in some measure the cause of the enlargement. He says that about this time, and the following years, many came to his Church at Leyden from diverse parts of England, so that they grew a great congregation. And Robinson grew in reputation and love among all men, and continued his labors with the pen, as well as in preaching, up to the season of his death, so that he left behind him a treatise which was published after his departure to his rest. Few individuals have ever so united the men of all classes in respect and admiration for his

* Prince, 38. Young's Chronicles, 41.

character. Mr. Prince informs us, in a note to the record of his death, that as he was had in high esteem both by the city and University, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry, mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave. Mr. Prince had often seen his son Isaac, who came over to the Plymouth Colony, and who lived to be above ninety years of age.

Robinson was smitten with his last illness on Saturday morning, February 22d, 1625. He nevertheless preached twice the next day, which was his last service of love to his Redeemer and the Church. His disease baffled the skill of the physicians, and seemed, indeed, to be unknown, being described as a continual inward ague, in which, with little or no pain, he grew weaker and weaker rapidly every day, till the next Saturday, the first day of March, when he died, sensible to the last. These particulars are found in a letter from Mr. White to Governor Bradford, dated at Leyden, April 28th, 1625. Nothing is given of his last conversations, though it is stated that his friends visited him freely throughout his illness.

In his researches in Leyden, of which he gives some account in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Mr. Sumner found a record of Robinson's burial in St. Peter's Church in that city, on the fourth of March, 1625; and he also discovered a receipt of payment of burial fees in the church receipt book as follows: The translation only is given.

1625,

10. March.—Open and hire for John Robens, English Preacher, ... 9 florins.

Mr. Sumner says that at that time the plague was raging in Leyden, so that in one church there were buried, only three days before Robinson's death, twenty-five persons in

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. ix., 3d Series, 55, 71.

one day. Whole families were buried at the same time. The hint in Mr. White's letter to Governor Bradford, giving the account of Robinson's illness, accords with this, where the writer says, "he had a continual inward ague, but I thank the Lord was free of the plague, so that all his friends could come freely to him." But this by no means invalidates the account of especial or public honors at his funeral. Indeed the fact that four days elapsed from his death to his burial would rather strengthen the credibility of that account.

The letters of Robinson to the Colony were very precious to the Pilgrims, as of an absent father to his flock, fraught with wise counsels, and with the feelings of an affectionate heart. He always looked upon them as his people, and they looked to him as their Pastor; for to the day of his death neither he nor they had abandoned the hope of being again united. "If either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life," said Roger White, in his letter to Governor Bradford, "he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his work, which the Lord had appointed him here to perform, he now rests with the Lord in eternal happiness; we wanting him and all church governors, not having one at present that is a governing officer among us." Their leading men had gone over to Plymouth, and before many years almost the whole remaining portion of the church were gathered there through the great kindness of their brethren. Never was there a church, whose members manifested more truly one towards another the patience and brotherly love of the gospel. This was a great proof of the faithful, apostolic character of their beloved Pastor's ministry. "Whom the Lord," said one of the remaining brethren in the church, Mr. Th. Blossom, in a letter preserved in Governor Bradford's letter-book, "took away even as fruit falleth before it is ripe. The loss of his ministry was very great unto me, for I ever counted myself happy in the enjoyment of it, notwithstand-

ing all the crosses and losses otherwise I sustained. Alas! you would fain have had him with you, and he would as fain have come to you."

His spirit was evidently saddened ever after the departure of the Pilgrims, whom he longed to follow. There is an expression of this sadness in his beautiful letter, written to the Church in Plymouth, after their severe experience of the first winter, when death had been so busy among them. A tone of still deeper dejection marks his later correspondence, although he felt, after that first winter, that God had given them the victory. Such a letter as the following, which we copy as it stands in the fragment preserved of Governor Bradford's letter-book, must have had a powerful and lasting effect upon the dear Christian friends to whom he was writing.

"To the Church of God at Plymouth, in New England. Much beloved brethren: Neither the distance of place, nor distinction of body, can at all either dissolve or weaken that bond of true Christian affection, in which the Lord by his spirit hath tied us together. My continual prayers are to the Lord for you; my most earnest desire is unto you; from whom I will not longer keep, if God will, than means can be procured to bring with me the wives and children of divers of you, and the rest of your brethren, whom I could not leave behind me without great injury both to you and them, and offence to God and all men. The death of so many of our dear friends and brethren, oh how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us to take knowledge of; which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed; but we must go unto them, and they shall not return unto us; and how many, even of us, God hath taken away here and in England since your departure, you may elsewhere take knowledge. But the same God has tempered judgment with mercy, as otherwise, so in sparing the rest; especially those, by whose godly and wise government you may be, and I know, are, so much helped. In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die; it is thought well for a side if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if no too many or

too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory, after many difficulties, for yourselves and others; though I doubt not but many do and will remain for you and us all to strive with. Brethren, I hope I need not exhort you to obedience unto those whom God hath set over you, in Church and Commonwealth, and to the Lord in them. It is a Christian's honor to give honor according to men's places; and his liberty, to serve God in Faith, and his brethren in Love, orderly, and with a willing and free heart. God forbid I should need to exhort you to peace, which is the bond of perfection, and by which all good is tied together, and without which it is scattered. Have peace with God first, by faith in his promises, good conscience kept in all things, and oft renewed by repentance; and so one with another for His sake, which is, though three, one; and for Christ's sake, who is one, and as you are called by one spirit to one hope. And the God of peace and grace, and all good men, be with you, in all the fruits thereof, plenteously upon your heads, now and for ever. All your brethren here remember you with great love, a general token whereof they have sent you.

Yours ever in the Lord.

JOHN ROBINSON.

Leyden, Holland, June 30, *Anno* 1621.

The most interesting and valuable of all that remains in Plymouth, illustrative of the first generation of its pilgrim inhabitants, is the volume of Old Colony and Church Records, kept among the registries of the town and county. It is with singular interest that the visitor turns over these antique leaves, among which it is pleasant to meet the following poem on the Death of Robinson, found in a page of the Church Records as early as the date of the year 1626. The lines are at least as good as some of Roger Ascham's, and in the firm handwriting in the original MS. may remind one of the verses which John Bunyan used to write in his old copy of Fox's Book of the Martyrs. Governor Bradford was the only one of the Pilgrims, so far as we know, that ever made any attempts at versifica-

tion; perhaps the authorship of the following stanzas is his.

A FEW POEMS,

MADE BY A FRIEND, ON THE DEPLORED DEATH OF MR. JOHN ROBINSON, THE WORTHY PASTOUR OF THE CHURCH OF LEYDEN, AS FOLLOWETH:

1 Blessed Robinson hath run his race
from earth to heaven is Gone,
to be with Christ in heavenly place,
the blessed saints among.

2 A burning and a shining light,
was hee whiles hee was heer,
a preacher of the gospel Bright,
whom we did love most deer.

3 What tho hees dead, his workes alive
and live will to all aye;
the comfort of them pleasant is
to living saints each day.

4 Oh blessed holy Saviour,
the fountain of all grace,
from whom such blessed instruments
are sent and Run their Race,

5 To lead us to and guide us in
the way to happiness
that soe oh Lord we may alwaies
for evermore confess

6 That whosoever Gospel preacher be
or waterer of the same,
wee may always most constantly
Give Glory to thy Name.

There is in these lines, which beyond doubt are the expression of the feelings of the whole church, a very different sentiment from that sometimes ascribed to the colony. It has been intimated that the brethren were so fond of their own prophesyings, and so gifted in the same, that

their pastors in after years found themselves depreciated, discouraged, and disesteemed thereby. It is very certain that God saw fit to discipline the colony with some very disastrous experiences in the endurance of men, who proved hypocrites in the ministry or incapacitated for it. It was God's own providence, not their choice, that threw them upon the exercise of their own gifts so long and so habitually. And there could not have been much irregularity, or disesteem of the ministry, in a church educated under Robinson's guidance, while such men as Brewster, Bradford, and Edward Winslow, were their elders and "prophets." The jealousy of prophesyings among the brethren savors a little of that spirit of the Establishment, which afterwards threw Winslow himself into prison in England, on the charge of having publicly exercised his gifts for the edification of the Church, when they wanted a minister. The last stanza in this simple poem on the death of Robinson conveys without doubt the sentiment of the whole church in regard to such preachers of the gospel as the Lord might be pleased to grant them for the guidance of his flock.

That whoso gospel preacher be,
  Or waterer of the same,
We may always most constantly
  Give glory to thy name.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND CHURCH AND THEIR ELDER, WILLIAM BREWSTER.—THE VINE BROUGHT OUT AND PLANTED.

The first New England Church was composed of the Pilgrims in the May Flower. Its organization must be regarded as having taken place before they left Leyden, even on that important day of fasting and prayer, early in the year 1620, when, having received accounts of the completion of arrangements in England for their departure, they gathered together to ask counsel of the Lord. That day they heard a sermon from their pastor, Robinson, on the appropriate text in First Samuel xxiii. 4. "And David's men said unto him, Behold we be afraid here in Judah: how much more then if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines? Then David inquired of the Lord yet again. And the Lord answered him and said, Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand." What a treasure would it have been, could that sermon have been preserved to us! We have no record of it whatever, save in two lines from Governor Bradford, where he says that Mr. Robinson preached that day from that text, "strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions." It could not but have been one of Robinson's wisest, most affectionate, most fervent and animating sermons; for he was full of a devout fire himself in this great Pilgrim and Missionary enter-

prise; he intended to go in person, and his whole heart was bound up in the undertaking. And every step which he and his beloved fellow-disciples of Christ adopted in it was taken in prayer. If ever a church sought God's guidance, they did. With what energy, and beauty, and heavenly-mindedness he would, on that occasion, have led his flock by the streams of God's promises, telling them that they should find the same streams in the wilderness, and brooks to drink of by the way, yea, and in the New World to which they were travelling, new and unexpected springs of light, comfort, and power.

Their next business, after seeking God in prayer, and listening to the counsels of that beloved pastor, whom God had given them, was to "conclude how many, and who should prepare to go first; for all that were willing could not get ready quickly." It is from Governor Bradford that we derive our direct and valuable notice of this day's services and doings. "The greater number," says he, "being to stay, require their pastor to tarry with them; their Elder, Mr. Brewster, to go with the other. THOSE WHO GO FIRST, TO BE AN ABSOLUTE CHURCH OF THEMSELVES, AS WELL AS THOSE WHO STAY; with this proviso, that as any go over or return, they shall be reputed as members, without farther dismission or testimonial. And those who tarry, to follow the rest as soon as they can."

We have marked an important sentence in this record. From this day, the Church of the Pilgrims in the May Flower, the First Congregational Church in Plymouth and in New England, and in all America, dates its organization. There was no other formal organization, that we are aware of, nor was any other necessary. It was as simple and natural as the growth of two cedars from one stock, of two branches from the same vine, of two rose trees from the same root. They had the same covenant with the Parent Church, the same officers, and the same usages. They carried from Leyden into New England that primitive,

New Testament Congregational organization which they had brought from Old England into Leyden. Their covenant was with Christ, and with one another in him, "to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it cost them."

Perfectly and nobly in accordance with this covenant was the spirit and letter of Mr. Robinson's last remarkable sermon to his departing flock, when they observed their final Fast Day, ready to depart on the morrow. That day their pastor took his text from Ezra the eighth, 21: "Then I proclaimed a fast there at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." The old prophetic spirit seemed to have descended upon the preacher, as he reminded them of the terms of their covenant, and drew forth its meaning before them. The record of this discourse, as preserved by Gov. Winslow, is so characteristic of Robinson, so filled with the same wisdom and grace shining in his letters to the Pilgrims, that it bears the strongest internal evidence of its authenticity.

"He charged them before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to them by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever they were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period on religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their Reformation. As for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's Word he had further revealed to Calvin, they had rather die than embrace it; and so, said he, you see the Calvinists, they also stick where he

left them ; a misery much to be lamented. For though they were precious, shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them. And were they now alive, said he, they would be as ready to embrace further light as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church Covenant, whereby we engaged with God and one another to receive whatever light or truth should be made known to us from his written word. But withal he exhorted us to take heed what we receive for truth, and well to examine, compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures, before we receive it. For, said he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such Anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

Robinson also told the church that he would be glad if some goodly minister would go over with them before he himself came ; and he prophesied that there would be no difference between the Nonconformists and themselves, when once they came together out of the kingdom of England. He begged them likewise to put aside their unwillingness to appoint another pastor or teacher ; but they waited long for him, and as God would have it, were without a settled minister till after his death. Mr. Prince has well noted Robinson's endeavor to take them off from their attachment to himself, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures.

There was great meaning in the Providence which kept the pastor from embarking with the flock. They might have leaned too much upon him, trusting in an arm of flesh. And had he come to this country, what between the love of faithful souls, the strength of a great mind, a sacred superiority of trial and suffering, and the weakness of his flock, his own power might have been too great, too suddenly accumulate, and in danger of breeding worms, as is often the case with the manna of reputation, influence, and power, when not received from God and Providence, ac-

cording to occasions of want. There was a wonderful guardianship from God against this evil (an evil which lay in man's nature, and not in mere circumstances) not only in the case of Robinson, but of some other dear and necessary men, dangerous by their very dearness. He would gladly have gone with them; but never again this side the grave was he to meet that Pilgrim part of his flock over which he had watched for more than twelve years, with such apostolic assiduity and tenderness.

Here then was a Church without a Bishop. New England was to be colonized by such a church. It was such a church that God was pleased to choose, for "a restorer of paths to dwell in, to raise up the foundations of many generations." It was a wonderful Providence which sent this Vine to take root in New England, under no head but Christ. The church was to be thrown, in its simplest original elements as a band of Christians, independent of any earthly power, and in entire dependence upon Christ, into a state of isolation, unrivalled, unequalled, since the formation of the first church at Antioch. There was in all this an evident return of Christ's Church to those original sources of power which it possessed, disconnected from any earthly organization in existence, at the Day of Pentecost. There was in this kind of original plantation in New England, one of the most remarkable manifestations of God's superintending wisdom visible in the history of mortals.

It seemed as if man was to do nothing, God everything, in this new reformation and creation of the church. Its foundations were sunk deep down in an abyss of trial, in faith, in self-denial, in love, in God. There was hardly ever in the world a more complete cutting off from all human dependence, not even when the Israelites, just escaped from Egypt, with the chariots of Pharaoh rattling behind them, stood at the Red Sea. And indeed, the miracle in such a case is a lower kind of training of the soul to faith, than the deliver-

ance by the pressure of God's gradual providence, when the sense can see nothing but what is natural, and the soul must be armed with grace, must see God by faith, or not see him at all. The miracle is but the bud of greater dealings, of a more refined and exquisite spiritual training; the miracle is good for babes; the great things of God's ordinary providence for men; the discipline of the soul for a life of faith, and for the daily sight of God in daily trials, is the most costly and the greatest thing. The old miraculous dispensation was comparatively crude, but this is more perfect; that was of sense, but this is of the spirit.

In man's sense it was a church without a Bishop. And yet, perhaps, in the three kingdoms out of which God sifted the Pilgrim wheat, there could not have been found *as* their Bishop, a man better fitted to lead them in green pastures and beside still waters, than plain Elder Brewster. The church at Leyden gave up their elder and retained their pastor; the church at Plymouth followed their elder *as* their pastor, and such he really was. Between him and Robinson there had long existed a very intimate confidence and communion. They were "true yokefellows," and they seem to have led the flock rather as co-pastors, than as officers in any respect of a different grade. Their names are together in the correspondence with England relative to all the arrangements for the Pilgrim colony; they were together the overseers of the flock. Robinson was the only pastor, Brewster the only elder; but they were both by turns pastor and elder, as necessity required. Brewster was about twelve years the eldest, being sixty when the Pilgrims embarked for New England, probably the oldest of them all. In the providence of God they had really no need of a better minister than he was, and for some years God gave them none other. His spirit belonged to Robinson, and Robinson's to him.

There seems to have been but one difficulty in regard to his really filling the office of the ministry in Robinson's

stead, and that lay in the opinion of Robinson himself in regard to the distinction between a ruling and a teaching elder. A letter from Robinson to Brewster, copied from the Records of the Plymouth church, and printed in Dr. Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, contains the following passage :

"Now touching the question propounded by you, I judge it not lawful for you, being a ruling elder, as in Rom. xii. 7, 8, and in Tim. v. 17, opposed to the elders that teach and exhort and labor in the word and doctrine, to which the sacraments are annexed, to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawful."

As this was written in answer to questions propounded by Mr. Brewster, and as late as the close of the year 1623, it is not improbable that, as the elder of the church, in the absence of the pastor, he had occasionally presided at the celebration of the Lord's Supper ; for it is not to be supposed that the Church would continue to deny themselves the comfort and joy of that sacrament, because their beloved pastor did not come over to them. If they did, and conceived the Lord's Supper to be of such a nature that his followers could never celebrate it as a church, without the presence and sanction of an ordained minister, and if that was also Mr. Robinson's opinion, then there was indeed more light needed to be disclosed from God's word both to pastor and people. But although Governor Bradford, in his memoir of Elder Brewster, says nothing particularly on this point, yet the description of his whole character and services in the church is of such a tenor, as would lead us to suppose that the church did not, under him, neglect the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Mr. Hubbard, in his General History of New England, intimates that the people wished to ordain Mr. Brewster as their pastor, but that he always refused to be anything more than elder. The passage in which this statement is

made is as follows:* "In many years they could not prevail with any to come over to them, and to undertake the office of a pastor amongst them, at least none in whom they could with full satisfaction acquiesce; and therefore in the meanwhile they were peaceably and prudently managed by the wisdom of Mr. Brewster, a grave and serious person, that only could be persuaded to keep his place of ruling elder amongst them: having acquired by his long experience and study no small degree of knowledge in the mysteries of faith and matters of religion, yet wisely considering the weightiness of the ministerial work (and therein he was also advised by Mr. Robinson) according to that of the Apostle 'who is sufficient for these things?' he could never be prevailed with to accept the ministerial office, which many less able in so long a time could have been easily drawn into."

Again Mr. Hubbard says, on occasion of the death of Robinson, concerning the delay of the Pilgrims in getting a minister: "The small hopes these had of their pastor's coming over to them being heretofore revived by the new approach of the shipping every spring, possibly made them more slow in seeking out for another supply, as also more difficult in their choice of any other."—"They were constrained to live without the supply of that office, making good use of the abilities of their ruling elder, Mr. Brewster, who was qualified both to rule well, and also to labour in the word and doctrine, although he could never be persuaded to take upon him the pastoral office, for the administration of the sacraments and so forth. In this way they continued till the year 1629."†

It seems probable that Mr. Brewster's question propounded to Robinson arose out of the desire and request of the church that he would consent to assume the office of their Pastor. We deem it not unlikely that before writing

* Hubbard's History, in Mass. Hist. Col., p. 65.
† Hubbard's General History, ch. xvii. p. 97

to Robinson to know his opinion, the church may have celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper under guidance of Mr. Brewster as their elder. But neither they nor he could feel satisfied without his sanction as to such a course, and the expression of Robinson's opinion seems to have decided the matter. They seem after that to have remained without the administration of the sacraments, until they had an ordained minister with them. It was a needless deprivation, self-imposed, since the same power and right, vested in them by the Lord Jesus, of choosing and ordaining their own minister, would have authorized them to appoint their elder to the business of administering the sacraments. And indeed, if they were so situated as to be deprived of the assistance or guidance of either pastor or elder, they could have appointed their deacon for that service, or one of their own members ; for nowhere in the Word of God is the authority, propriety, or edifying power of the sacraments restricted to the circumstance of ordination in the person or persons presiding at their administration. Of the Lord's Supper especially it must be acknowledged that it is a commemorative ordinance belonging to the church, and in their power and right to celebrate either with or without an ordained minister, as they see fit. It is for other and higher purposes mainly that elders are required of the Lord Jesus to be appointed in every church, and not because without them the Lord's Supper could not be celebrated.

Nevertheless, Robinson's opinion was very explicit against Elder Brewster having any authority to administer the sacrament, and perhaps he would have thought it still more unbecoming, if not actually unlawful, for any church to enjoy the sacraments, or celebrate the Lord's Supper, without an ordained minister to break the bread. And we conclude, that mainly in consequence of this opinion and advice, Mr. Brewster did not and would not assume any function supposed by their pastor to belong exclusively to

the Elders appointed to teach and exhort, and labor in the word and doctrine. For the same reason the church also quietly waited, denying themselves one of their greatest privileges and enjoyments in the Gospel.

They even suffered in the estimation of some, in consequence of this, and their adversaries in England made it an occasion of slander; as also they did the freedom with which the brethren of the church were accustomed to exhort one another in their worshipping assemblies. They accused the church as being not only independent, but disorderly, and disaffected towards the ministry, whereas it was one of their greatest trials that they had to remain so long without a settled Pastor. "I find," says Mr. John Cotton, writing in 1760, "that the want of Sacraments was equally objected against them by adversaries in England." To which they sent this answer, verbatim, as recorded in the church records, namely: 'The more is our grief that our Pastor is kept from us, by whom we might enjoy them; for we used to have the Lord's Supper every Sabbath, and Baptism as often as there was occasion of children to baptize.'"

In Mr. Cushman's letter to the colony on the part of the friendly adventurers, given in Gov. Bradford's Letter Book, and dated Dec. 18, 1624, he says: "Let your practices and course in religion in the church be made complete and full. Let all that fear God amongst you join themselves thereunto without delay. And let all the ordinances of God be used completely in the church without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping the gap open for opposites." This would seem to intimate, that in Mr. Cushman's opinion, as well as that of others, the church ought to have celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, although without an ordained pastor.

And we should have judged it not likely, that with a man like Mr. Brewster as their spiritual guide, though not ordained their Pastor, the church of the Pilgrims, at Ply-

mouth, would have passed three or four years without the administration of the Sacramental ordinance. It is somewhat singular, and not of a piece with the largeness and scriptural freedom of his views generally, that Robinson should have insisted so strongly upon the distinction and even *opposition* between the offices of the ruling and teaching Elder on this point. Inasmuch as they had but one Pastor in the church at Leyden, and one Elder, it is unquestionable that Mr. Brewster was regarded occasionally, even there, as a teacher; but there the question as to his authority alone to administer the Sacraments had never come up; he was simply the assistant of the Pastor.

In the Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts, published by Dr. Elliot, in the Historical Collections of the Society, it is said that the pastoral care of the Church was offered to Mr. Brewster, but that he was too modest to accept of it. He was indeed a man of genuine and delightful modesty and humility; but we incline to think it was mainly the opinion of Robinson, with the feeling of assurance the Pastor had of soon joining them himself, that prevented him.

Belknap also says that Brewster "never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments, or take on him the pastoral office; though it had been stipulated before their departure from Holland, that those who first went should be an absolute Church of themselves, as well as those who stayed; and it was one of their principles that the brethren who elected, had the power of ordaining to office. Had his diffidence permitted him to exercise the pastoral office, he would have had more influence, and kept intruders at a proper distance."*

Dr. Elliot, in his biographical notice of Brewster, likewise repeats that "he would not accept the office of pastor, but preached to the people who came over with him to Plymouth, and performed most part of a minister's duty.

* Belknap's American Biography, Vol. ii. 257, 266.

The Church were benefited by his labors, and would have been happy if he had consented to administer the ordinances, for he was wise, learned, and prudent." Elliot says that he was born in the year 1560.* Other authorities say 1564; indeed, Gov. Bradford's computation makes it nearly or quite certain that this must be the right date. He lived and labored till the middle of the seventeenth century.

In most of the churches in New England, within little more than fifty years from that time, the distinction between teaching and ruling Elders had almost entirely ceased. But in the confession of faith by the churches, in 1680, it is declared that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may not be dispensed by any but by a minister of the word lawfully called; and the Cambridge Platform of 1619 recognises the ruling elder's office as distinct from the office of pastor and teacher.

Elder Brewster was really the stated and habitual teacher of the Pilgrim church at Plymouth, until about the year 1629, when, after several disappointments, they once more had a settled Pastor. "When the church had no other minister," says Governor Bradford, "he taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in their behalf in a year, than many, that have their hundreds a year, do in all their lives." This is written with reference particularly to the fact, that in his office as Elder, Mr. Brewster received no emolument for his ministerial services. Yea, he could say with Paul, yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities. But this all the Pilgrims had to be able to say, and he was one of the foremost in energy and disinterestedness. "He was no way unwilling," says Governor Bradford, "to take his part and bear his burden with the

* Elliot's Biog. Dict. 86.

rest, living many times without bread or corn many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drank nothing but water for many years together, yea, until within five or six years of his death. And yet he lived, by the blessing of God, in health until very old age; and besides that, would labor with his hands in the fields as long as he was able."

It is evident from Governor Bradford's account, that they could not easily have got a better Pastor, unless they had had Mr. Robinson himself; also, that they really looked to Elder Brewster as their Pastor in Robinson's place. "In teaching," says the Governor, "he was very stirring, and moving the affections; also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon thereof. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than to be long and tedious in the same; except upon solemn and special occasions, as on days of humiliation and the like. For the government of the Church, which was most proper to his office, he was careful to preserve good order in the same, and to preserve purity, both in the doctrine and communion of the same, and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to arise amongst them; and accordingly God gave good success to his endeavors herein, all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labors in that behalf."

Now we repeat the question, where could the Pilgrim Church have found a better Pastor than is here described in the character so beautifully drawn of Elder Brewster, by one who knew him so thoroughly and intimately as Governor Bradford? It is not so surprising that with such a man for their Elder, they felt that they could very safely

afford to wait for their Pastor Robinson, even some years. It is rather surprising that they did not, when it was found that their whole hope of Robinson's coming must be relinquished, especially when God had taken him from the world, that they did not then elect and ordain Elder Brewster for their Pastor and Teacher. Perhaps, as he was verging towards seventy, they looked for a younger man. They might have looked far, and not found one who was, or ever would be, so gifted of the Holy Spirit for the work of the gospel ministry. That faculty, so quaintly described by Governor Bradford, of ripping up the heart and conscience before God, was an invaluable one. Combined with Elder Brewster's affectionate disposition and heart, it made him rarely qualified for the work of saving souls. He was of a social, sympathizing nature, and took part in the distresses as well as joys of those with whom he mingled. None of the trials of the Pilgrims ever made any of them misanthropic.

The experience of misfortune taught him to succor the tempted and oppressed; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. "He was tender-hearted," says Governor Bradford, "and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank, and were fallen into want and poverty, either for goodness' or religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others. He would say, of all men these deserve to be most pitied; and none did more offend and displease him, than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing, and having little else in them but a few fine clothes, or a little riches more than others."

Under the ministry and example of two such men as Robinson and Brewster for more than twenty years, it was to be expected that God would raise up and prepare a company of his children for a great work. Meanwhile he was disciplining and preparing the Pastor and the Elder, as well as their flock.

While he was at Leyden, Mr. Brewster pursued the honorable trade of a Printer, though when he had learned it, we know not. He had the merit of being hunted for punishment by the agents of the English government, because the works which he printed were obnoxious to the Established Church. It would even seem that when the Pilgrims embarked for Plymouth, and he with them, he was the object of inimical search, and escaped it only by keeping close till the sailing of the vessel.

He had enjoyed a good early education, having learned both Latin and Greek, and spent some time at Cambridge. He was afterwards employed at Court and on the Continent, in the service of William Davison, the unfortunate Secretary of Queen Elizabeth at the time of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Davison was a man of parts, says Hume, but easy to be imposed upon; and for that very reason at that time made Secretary, that the gross dissimulation and murderous purpose of the Queen might be successfully, and yet with seeming irresponsibility, accomplished. He was a man of piety, ability, and various worth, "beloved," as the Earl of Essex said, "of the best and most religious of the land," but sacrificed and brought to ruin by the detestable meanness, perfidy, and cruelty of Elizabeth. As far as he could, Mr. Brewster continued to serve this unfortunate victim of State treachery, after the Queen had thrown him into prison, and brought him to utter poverty, by a fine of ten thousand pounds, for his obedience to her own commands in the duties of his office.

While under the employment of Davison, Mr. Brewster became well acquainted with civil affairs, having travelled with him for state purposes on the Continent, where his master communed with him, and trusted him as a son rather than a servant. Under Davison's influence and example, his religious character likewise seems to have been more fully developed, and when at length he departed from his service, the company with which he associated in

the rural parts of England, where he lived, was more especially among the religious gentlemen of that region. What the extent of his worldly means then was, we know not; but Governor Bradford tells us that he was deep in the charge of promoting and furthering religion, by procuring good preachers in all places thereabouts, and sometimes above his ability. And so for many years he walked according to the light he saw, till God's providence led him into clearer light, about the year 1600, when he was 36 years of age, and Robinson 24. Robinson was then entering the degree of Master of Arts in Cambridge, and was in a fair way to great preferment, had he been so minded. Perhaps they neither of them, at this time, dreamed of what was to follow, nor had any idea of the possibility of two or three Christians, with Christ, constituting a Church. But in Governor Bradford's words, "by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he, and many more of those times, began to look further into particulars, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burden of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast off."

In the year 1602, they gathered the first Pilgrim Church "as the Lord's free people in the fellowship of the gospel," under covenant with him and one another, to walk in his ways, cost what it might. And much did it cost them after a year or two, when the vigilant and bitter persecutions of the Establishment were turned upon them as they became known, and they were hunted and persecuted on every side. Some were thrown into prison, and most were compelled to flee from their houses, habitations, and means of livelihood. But so long as they could stay in England, Mr. Brewster was of great aid to them, being free and forward in his friendship. For a while, until the persecution grew too hot, they usually met at his house on the Lord's day, "and with great love he entertained them

when they came, making provision for them to his great charge." And when at length in 1607 they were driven to the enterprise of their pilgrimage to Holland, he was one of the greatest sufferers and most faithful men in that perilous, disastrous, and treacherous expedition; disastrous in its course, through the wickedness of men, but glorious in its issue, through the goodness of God. He was one of the company who hired the ship at Boston in Lincolnshire, and were betrayed by the Judas of a Captain. His money and books were taken from him, and with six other of the principal men he was thrown into prison, and kept there some months. At length, in the course of 1607 and 1608, he, with Robinson and others, succeeded after great difficulty, peril, and suffering, in getting into Holland.

There again he suffered much hardship, with his large family, for years, until he could get employment and the means of support, which afterwards became plentiful and abundant. He does not appear at first to have "set up printing," but besides that vocation he taught English very successfully to foreigners, with great facility, by a system of his own, through the medium of the Latin, so that among the Danes and Germans, he had many pupils, and some of them of noble families. Being thus established, he was pleasantly situated in Holland, and at the age of sixty, nothing would have induced him to flee with his brethren into the wilderness, except his love to his Redeemer, and to them for Christ's sake, and to the cause of Christ and Christian Liberty with them.

The names of his children were striking developments of the qualities of the man. They were genuine waymarks of his experience in Divine Providence and grace, and not a mere imitation of the Hebrew custom of names as sacred memorials. They were actual memorials of events and states of mind in his chequered pilgrimage. There were among his offspring, Love, Wrestling, Patience, and Fear: and there were whole periods in his life charac-

terized by the discipline of God in reference to each of these qualities.

Mr. Brewster was as remarkable for the virtues of frugality and temperance, as he was for the graces of charity and love. The habits of self-denial, patience, and sympathizing kindness, early learned, were of inestimable value when he came to grapple with the realities of pain and want. He was noted for his submissive and cheerful endurance of the famine, in the second winter of the colony. And when nothing but oysters or clams could be set upon the table, with neither bread, nor parched corn, nor vegetables, he would pleasantly and heartily give thanks "that they were permitted to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the land."

Belknap says that Mr. Brewster was the owner of a very considerable library, part of which was lost when the vessel in which he embarked was plundered at Boston, in Lincolnshire. After his death, his remaining books were valued at forty-three pounds in silver, as appeared from the Colony Records, where a catalogue of them is preserved.

Some statements have been made through a careless reading of manuscripts, or wrong interpretation of sentences, quite incorrect; as for example, we find it stated in one or two instances, in biographical memoirs of Brewster, that while he was in the employment of Davison, on an embassy from Queen Elizabeth into the Low Countries, the keys of Flushing were delivered to him, and the States honored him with a gold chain. In this case Brewster by mistake is put in the place of Davison himself, as any one may see on reading the original from whence this historical item is taken, which is the Memoir of Brewster by Governor Bradford. The memoir is printed by Dr. Young, from the manuscript records of Plymouth Church, and occupies the 27th chapter of his Chronicles of the Pilgrims. It was Davison himself whom the States honored with the golden chain, and on his return into England, Davison

gave it to Brewster to wear on their journey towards the court. Davison, as time drew on, was advancing to his ruin, through the infamous treachery of Queen Elizabeth. Brewster, who wore his master's chain, was coming to the period of persecuting discipline, by which Divine Providence would teach and fit him for the great work of the church colony in the wilderness. Neither of them placed their trust in earthly honors or treasures, but in Heaven. The occasion, the characters, and the end, may bring to remembrance the beautiful impromptu of Coleridge.

How seldom, friend! a good great man inherits
Honor or wealth, with all his worth and pains!
It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,
If any man obtain that which he merits,
Or any merit that which he obtains.

REPLY.

For shame, dear friend! renounce this canting strain.
What wouldst thou have a good great man obtain?
Place? Title? Salary? A gilded chain?
Or thrones of corses, which his sword hath slain?
Greatness and goodness are not *means*, but *ends!*
Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
The good great man? Three treasures, Love and Light,
And calm Thoughts, regular as an infant's breath!
And three firm friends, more sure than day and night,
Himself, his Maker, and the Angel Death.

These beautiful truths were realized by the Pilgrims, by such men as Robinson, Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, and Winthrop; and these possessions were theirs, Love, Light, and calm and cheerful Thoughts; and these friends were theirs, Themselves, their Maker, and the Angel Death; and all these three, self, God, and death, friends through Christ. It was Christ in whom they trusted; Christ, to whom and for whom they had given up self;

Christ, in whom God was reconciled, and had reconciled them unto himself, and into whose glorious presence and likeness, after their mission on earth was accomplished, the Angel Death would usher them. It was thus that they left that goodly and pleasant city in the Old World, which had been their resting place near twelve years, to be thrown upon the shores of a "waste howling wilderness," without a habitation. It was thus, in the simple and beautiful language of Governor Bradford, that "they knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those pleasant things they were leaving, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."

Their sojourn in Leyden had been pleasant, mainly through the power and perfect sweetness of that brotherly love which bound them together. "For I persuade myself," said Mr. Winslow, "never people on earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly, than we, the Church at Leyden, did; not rashly, in a distracted humor, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer; whose gracious presence we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us, from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended."

And never was the reality and purity of brotherly love better tested, than in the sacrifices so cheerfully made by the Church in Plymouth, after the death of Robinson, to transport at their own cost, to their own colony of refuge, the brethren with their families, whom they had left behind them. By labor, suffering, and the cost of many deaths they had prepared it; with unparalleled kindness and love they welcomed others to the enjoyment and possession of its comforts.

The simple record of Brewster's death we give in Brad-

ford's own language. It is the opening of that part of his History of Plymouth Colony, which was occupied with the memoir of Brewster. "Now followeth that which was matter of great sadness and mourning unto this church. About the tenth of April, in the year 1644, died their reverend Elder, our dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the Gospel's sake, and had borne his part in weal and wo with this poor persecuted church about thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling; and notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near four-score years of age, if not all out, when he died. He had this blessing, added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed, in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long. Until the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him; and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died, without any pang at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better."

These are the words of Governor Bradford in the memoir copied from the Records of the Plymouth Church. He was an eye-witness of the serene departure of his dear and loving friend, after whom he was still himself to remain with the church on earth thirteen years. He and Brewster had both experienced a great discipline from God of mingled mercy and trial, and had both learned by Divine Grace, whether living, to live unto the Lord, or

dying, to die unto the Lord. They could say with the sweet musings of Baxter—

Lord, it belongs not to my care,
Whether I die or live;
To love and serve thee is my share,
And this thy grace must give.
If life be long, I will be glad,
That I may long obey;
If short, yet why should I be sad,
That shall have the same pay!

Christ leads me through no darker rooms,
Than he went through before;
He that into God's kingdom comes
Must enter by this door.
Come, Lord, when grace hath made me meet,
Thy blessed face to see;
For if thy work on earth be sweet,
What will thy glory be!

CHAPTER VIII.

CONGREGATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH.—CORRESPONDENCE OF BREWSTER AND ROBINSON WITH THE COUNCIL IN ENGLAND, AS TO THEIR PRINCIPLES.—COMPARISON OF CONGREGATIONALISM AND HIERARCHISM.

The unsuccessful attempt of the Pilgrims to obtain liberty of conscience under the King's seal was the means of bringing out their principles into notice, as well as of trying their patience. Some unjust insinuations having been thrown out against them, to their injury with the King's Privy Council, a correspondence ensued between Sir John Worstenholme, one of the members of the Virginia Company, and the Pastor Robinson, together with Elder Brewster. A prayerful spirit of devout dependence upon God runs through this correspondence, into which also there came no less distinguished a personage than Sir Edwin Sandys, truly a man of piety as well as qualities of state. The points illustrated in the letters to Worstenholme were "touching the ecclesiastical ministry, namely, of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the Church's contribution, as also for the two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper." In regard to these, "we do wholly and in all points," said Robinson and Brewster, "agree with the French Reformed churches, according to their public confession of faith, though with

some small differences." The differences were said to be "in some accidental circumstances," such as,

1. Their ministers do pray with their heads covered; we uncovered.

2. We choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach; which ability they do not require.

3. Their elders and deacons are annual, or at the most for two or three years; ours perpetual.

4. Our elders do administer their office in admonitions and excommunications for public scandals, publicly and before the congregation; theirs more privately, and in their consistories.

5. We do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent, at least, is of some church, which some of their churches do not observe; although in it our practice accords with their public confession, and the judgment of the most learned amongst them.*

When these statements were submitted to Worstenholme, he asked who should make the ministers? A pregnant question, involving the main points in dispute between the Established and the Congregational churches. Sir John expected that Robinson and Brewster would "have been of the Archbishop's mind for the calling of ministers;" but he was greatly mistaken, and he is said to have "stuck much" at the contents of the letters, which, however, being friendly to the desire and project of the Pilgrim Church, he would not show to the bishops and the Council, "lest he should spoil all." And spoil all it would have done, doubtless, to have shown these independent scriptural principles to King James, and to have asked for a patent of liberty in religion "under the King's broad seal," for a Church of Puritans, maintaining the liberty and power, under God, of choosing and ordaining their own ministers. One can easily conceive the answer of the blustering

* Prince, 53.—Young's Chronicles, 65.

monarch to such an application. "Give a patent of liberty for such religion? They will be for choosing their King next. We will make them conform, or hang them, that's all." It is probable that the King would not even have connived at them, had he known them thoroughly, and what stuff they were of. They were constituted a church by the simple resolution of the Leyden Church, "that those who went first should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that staid;" and this, though they took not their pastor with them, but had only their elder. A novel kind of absolutism in church matters, indeed, to King James and his council! These men, who disposed affairs in this simple way, taking the whole power of the Hierarchy upon themselves, and into their own hands, as a band of mere Christian brethren;—what would they not do, if these principles ran into civil and political, as well as Ecclesiastical life?

On this refusal, Gov. Bradford remarks that "notwithstanding the great discouragement the English at Leyden met with from the King and Bishops' refusing to allow them liberty of conscience in America, under the Royal Seal, yet casting themselves on the care of Providence they resolve to venture."* Yes! and well they may! For the foundation of God standeth sure, having *this* seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and this, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. God's seal is something broader than King James's; and under it they may venture, notwithstanding what in that age was deemed so great a discouragement, even by those noble Pilgrims.

The constitutional principles of this first Church of Christ in New England are drawn up and presented with such simplicity, clearness, and conciseness, by Mr. Prince, in his New England Chronology, that we shall, for the main part, adopt his enumeration of the articles.

* Prince, 60.

1. That no particular church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently watch over one another, and usually meet and worship in one congregation.

2. That every particular Church of Christ is only to consist of such as appear to believe in and obey him.

3. That any competent number of such, when their consciences oblige them, have a right to embody into a church for their mutual edification.

4. That this embodying is by some certain contract or covenant, either expressed or implied, though it ought to be by the former.

5. That being embodied, they have a right of choosing all their officers.

6. That the officers appointed by Christ for this embodied Church are, in some respects, of three sorts, in others but two, namely,

(1.) Pastors, or Teaching Elders, who have the power both of overseeing, teaching, administering the sacraments, and ruling too, and being chiefly to give themselves to studying, teaching, and the spiritual care of the flock, are therefore to be maintained.

Mere ruling Elders, who are to help the Pastors in overseeing and ruling; that their offices be not temporary, as among the Dutch and French Churches, but continual; and being also qualified in some degree to teach, they are to teach only occasionally, through necessity, or in their Pastor's absence or illness; but being not to give themselves to study or teaching, they have no need of maintenance.

That the Elders of both sorts form the Presbytery of overseers and rulers, which should be in every particular church; and are in Scripture called sometimes Presbyters or Elders, sometimes Bishops or Overseers, and sometimes Rulers.

(2.) Deacons, who are to take care of the poor, and of the Church's treasure; to distribute for the support of the

Pastor, the supply of the needy, the propagation of religion, and to minister at the Lord's Table, &c.

Now this is genuine Congregationalism, there being these elements of administration in every true Congregational Church, these officers of Christ's appointment. It matters little what additional "helps, governments," as they are denominated by Paul, be added to these, in the shape of Prudential Committees, or a Board of Councillors, or Committees of the Church; nor whether one church shall choose to elect them annually, and another for life or good behavior; every church having the power to regulate these matters according to its own necessities or views of expediency. But the ministry and deaconship are essentials of every truly and fully organized church. Bishops and Deacons, or Elders and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons, each name signifying precisely the same thing, are the integral forms of officers appointed by Christ for each embodied Church. And whether each embodied church chooses to view these officers in the three respects noted above, and in which our Pilgrim Fathers viewed them, or in the two only, in which the Congregational Churches of New England, at the present day, ordinarily view them, intrusting a prudential power, in the third respect of mere ruling, to a separate committee; it matters little, so long as the great point of Congregational independency under Christ is maintained. All the Scriptural elements of administration and order are in every such church.

The grand original points of Congregationalism in the church of our Fathers, as distinguishing them from all other churches, throwing them back upon the New Testament Platform, and bringing them into a succession direct from the Scriptures, were contained not merely in the restriction of this Presbytery of overseers and rulers, which ought to be in every particular church, to the Scripture

model as appointed by Christ, but in the recognition of those two other fundamental principles next enumerated by Mr. Prince:

7. That these officers, being chosen and ordained, have no lordly, arbitrary, or imposing power, but can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren.

8. That no churches, or church officers whatever, have any power over any church or officers, to control or impose upon them; but are equal in their rights and privileges, and ought to be independent in the exercise and enjoyment of them.

The recognition, assertion, and practical demonstration of this New Testament Independency, was a new and original thing in a world of hierarchies; a world into the soul of which the idea of power, arbitrary, compulsory power as connected with the Church of Christ, had sunk so deeply, that a church abandoning it in all forms, and throwing itself entirely upon Christ and voluntary persuasion, upon Christ, the Truth and Love, seemed the intrusion of a new, wild, disorderly heresy; seemed in one direction the abandonment of the Church of Christ to the will of man; in another direction, not only seemed, but was felt and known to be, the rescuing of the Church of Christ from the power of man, and the redeeming of that spiritual power, with which God has invested the very idea of the church, and which in the hands of ambitious men is so tremendous an engine of corruption and despotism, from the sceptre of kings, from the sway of hierarchies, from the grasp of superstition, from the dominion of the God of this world. By this independency of men and hierarchies, Christ resumes this power into his own hands, and makes it the power of his Spirit, acting on and transforming the world, not by ecclesiastical canons, but by His Truth.

Our Fathers found these two orders, and these only, of church officers, in the New Testament Scriptures, for each

embodied church, namely, 1. Presbyters, or Bishops, or Elders; and 2. Deacons. For the Presbyters they made a division of labor in respect, first, of teaching and overseeing, or second, of overseeing mainly, with the duty of teaching occasionally, as need might be. For this division of labor, they thought they had the authority of Scripture, as the Presbyterians also universally thought, in 1st Timothy v. 17. But this office of ruling Elder, as a separate distinction, came gradually to be merged into a board or committee of members of the church for the assistance of the Pastor or Pastors. According to the usage of Congregationalism, this body is now generally chosen for a limited number of years; whereas, our fathers elected them, under the name of Elders, for life. Bishops, Deacons, and the Independency of the Churches, were then, as now, the elements of Congregationalism, as found in the New Testament, with the power, vested in each church, by its Supreme Head, of appointing each its own number of those officers of Christ, as the edification and usefulness of the church might require. The office of Deacon, our fathers, in contradistinction from the French Reformed Churches, held to be for life, or during the continuance of that fitness in the incumbents, in reference to which they were originally chosen. And this also has been the usage of Congregationalism, with some individual exceptions, ever since.

Here, as to Church Administrations (including Baptism and the Lord's Supper), and Holy Days, Mr. Prince enumerates two more articles:

9. As to Church Administrations, they held that Baptism is a seal of the covenant of grace, and should be dispensed only to visible believers, with their unadult children; and this in primitive purity, as in the times of Christ and his Apostles, without the sign of the cross, or any other invented ceremony. And that the church or its officers have no authority to inflict any penalties of a temporal

nature, excommunication being wholly spiritual, in a rejection of the scandalous from the communion of the church.

10. And lastly, as for Holy Days: They were very strict for the observation of the Lord's Day, in a pious memory of the Incarnation, Birth, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Benefits of Christ; as also, solemn Fastings and Thanksgivings, as the State of Providence requires. But all other times not prescribed in Scripture they utterly relinquished. And as in general they could not conceive anything a part of Christ's religion, which he has not required, they therefore renounced all human right of inventing, and much less of imposing it on others.

"These," says Mr. Prince, "were the main principles of that scriptural and religious liberty, for which this people suffered in England, fled to Holland, traversed the ocean, and sought a dangerous retreat in these remote and savage deserts of North America; that here they might fully enjoy them, and leave them to their last posterity."*

Now it is a strange thing that any man in his senses should have dreamed that King James would ever put his seal of toleration to these principles; principles that in their very nature imply and impel the rejection of all toleration from any earthly power, as a usurpation of Christ's power by man, inconsistent with Christian liberty. Sir John Worstenholme saw this, pretty clearly, when he said that the showing of the letters of Robinson and Brewster would spoil all.

Here was Hierarchism on the one side, and Congregationalism on the other. There are only these two Ecclesiastical divisions in the world, all else being merged in this great question, whether man shall reign, or Christ, over the conscience. Now let us look at the etymology of these two great words.

(1.) Ἱεράρχης, a Steward or President of Sacred rites. Hierarchism, Supremacy-in-sacred-rite-ism. A despotism

* Prince, 91-93.

by and with sacred rites. An imposition of priestly forms, by man's power, upon the conscience. The constitution of a hierarchical corporation, with supreme power.

(2.) *Congrego.* To collect together; for example, *the gathering together in one the children of God,* as in John xi. 52. The word would be supplied, if in Greek, by Συνάγω; συναγάγη being the word used in that passage in John. It is used also in 2 Thess. ii. 1, "our gathering together into Christ," ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν; and also in Hebrews x. 25, of the Christian *Congregation.* The Apostle might well say, "We beseech you by our Congregationalism into Christ."

And I, if I be lifted up, said our Blessed Lord, will draw all men unto me. Now it is this gathering of men into Christ, in contradistinction from the impressment of them under a hierarchism of rites and rubrics, that constitutes true Congregationalism. It is the lifting up of Christ as the sole and Supreme Head, Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, Christ as the sum and substance of all divinity, Christ as the only Lord of Conscience, of the Church, and of Sacred Rites in it: this is that Congregationalism: that which will gather all men at length into Christ's own liberty, the liberty of serving and edifying one another freely, in love.

Now it is remarkable that the first person under the New Testament Dispensation, who prophesied of this gathering together of the children of God in Christ, and of course of the destruction of the Hierarchism of Christianity, as well as of Judaism, was Caiaphas the High Priest. The Congregationalism of Christianity, the *Synagoguizing* of the people of God under Christ, instead of the *Hierarchizing* of them under an earthly head, was here foreshadowed. The Congregationalism was then beginning, and the Hierarchism should then have stopped; instead of which, Caiaphas and his system still kept up the conflict with Christ and his, with the Apostles and theirs; and in all the ages of

Christianity ever since, the Hierarchism and the Congregationalism have been the great decisive, separating, and conflicting systems. Perhaps the conflict is to continue, even till the prediction of the old High Priest shall be completely fulfilled, in the gathering together of all the children of God into one fold, under one Shepherd, in the unity of the Spirit, in one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism!

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST CIVIL COMPACT.—TOLERATION, CONNIVANCE, LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.—FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE.—REPETITION OF THE FREE COVENANTS.

We have dwelt upon the first free Church Covenant, a mighty and glorious phenomenon, the creation of eternal principles, or rather the creation of Divine grace, and the expression of principles that flow from time into eternity, and bind the whole family of God in heaven and on earth together. Out of this springs the free civil covenant, for freedom in the State is the offspring of Christian freedom in the Church, the creation of that liberty with which Christ makes his people free. That first Church compact, that old, free, Lincolnshire, Pilgrim church compact, that phenomenon of Conventicles and dissent, is just what the nations of Europe need now, at this hour of revolution, to go before the free civil compact, to prepare its way, and give it form, life, and stability.

But men need a vast deal of discipline and instruction on this matter of a free conscience both in church and state, before they can understand it. Our Pilgrim fathers began the practice, under God's good providence, even before they had learned the theory; indeed they learned the theory by the practice.

It is noticeable that at this time, with all their determination to enjoy freedom of conscience, not a person in the church or congregation but seems to have regarded it as a gift in the power of King James. Accordingly to him they looked for it, but God would not let the Pilgrim church, in its refuge under Christ's care in the New World, undergo the indignity of being *tolerated* by any earthly monarch or power. God was going to put an end to toleration in religion by this enterprise, and therefore in his providence he went further in this thing for the Pilgrims than they had yet learned to go for themselves. After much anxious and prayerful consideration, they determined to settle in the New World under the Virginia Company, "and by their friends to sue to his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them free liberty and freedom of religion." And some great friends of good work and quality undertook to be their patrons in this suit. To such shifts has our religious conscience been driven in this world, and to such height was the Papacy in essence still rising in England; so they sued for confirmation of liberty in religion under the king's broad seal, laboring both with the king and the Archbishop; but all would not do. The king under seal would neither allow nor tolerate. God would have nothing in the charter of New England liberty, which should intimate that the keeping of the conscience was in the hands of King James of England, or that he had any authority to tolerate. God would throw the Pilgrims for their toleration only upon Christ. They at length got a patent from the Virginia Company, though not without great difficulty, but the disgrace of James's seal of toleration was never attached to it, nor, if it had been, could it have served their turn, "although they had had a seal as broad as the house floor;" it would have been as easily called back or reversed as given.

"It is a capital error," said John Cartwright in his Letters on American Independence, addressed in 1774 to the

House of Commons, speaking of the rights of man, "It is a capital error in the reasonings of most writers on this subject, that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate or chattel, and go about to prove or disprove the right of it by grants, usages, or municipal statutes. It is not among mouldy parchments that we are to look for it; it is the immediate gift of God; it is not derived from any one; but it is original in every one."

This was the error even of our Pilgrim Fathers themselves in regard to religious liberty, which, with all their advancement, they still looked upon as a gift in possession of the king, until God, by his providence and word, taught them better. Highly as they prized their religious liberty, so that they were willing to suffer and die for it, they did not yet view it as *solely* the gift of God by charter to his people through Christ; as a possession, a right, in regard to which the pretended power of *toleration*, in any earthly king or state, is a blasphemous usurpation of God's attributes. So in this case God was better for them than they were for themselves, and planted them in the wilderness with more unrestricted liberty and superiority to earthly toleration than they had asked from others. King James should have nothing to do with tolerating them. So, whatever patents might be issued, of usurpation under the form of grants, after they had got footing in the New World, their first settlement as a church and civil state should not even have the king's name connected with it. They were under God only, and his charter for them was the Bible.

Even the patent which they did get was never used by them, nor was it ever taken out in any of their names, nor did it ever prove, that we know, of the least concernment or importance in any of their affairs, but only as God made use of it, by reason of the delays, difficulties, and distractions involved in the gaining of it, to sift out still more of the chaff from among the seed-corn he was preparing. The discouragements in this matter of the patent "shook off

many of their pretended friends," and in that service was much better for them than the King's great seal.

In the very part of England out of which the Pilgrims first fled to Holland, King James was now playing the persecutor, requiring the Bishop of Lancashire to present all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform or leave the country; ordering that those who would attend church on Sundays should not be disturbed or discouraged from dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, having May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morrice dances, setting up May-poles, and other sports therewith used, or any other such harmless recreations, on Sundays after divine service; all which and much more for the jail-delivery of Beelzebub all ministers were compelled to read in their churches, such food being prepared by the drunken monarch in his book of sports, for the souls of his people. If any refused to read, they were summoned into the High Commission Court, and imprisoned and suspended. The next year the same saintly monarch published his meditations on the Lord's Prayer!*

The failure of the Pilgrims in getting the King's patent, together with that other providence of God in their being compelled to come to anchor in Cape Cod Harbor, a place with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do, and where, of course, no patent from them could bestow any rights, was the cause of that solemn compact in the May Flower, by which they took the business of patent, government, and all civil and religious rights into their own hands, and became in reality an independent republic. There was already in growth the germ of the future republic, all its forms being folded up in the colony now planted, although as yet the form of a kingly crown rose above it. It was the God of providence and grace working as the God of nature works, by gradual onward progress from living principles, which in the fulness of time were to throw

* Prince, 56.

off the old form-covering entirely, and to stand revealed, in a transfiguration or creation of their own, suited to them. Even so in nature the old leaves, as Mr. Coleridge, in one of his beautifully suggestive illustrations, has remarked, are thrown off only by the propulsion of new buds. The old form might endeavor to hold its place, and play the despot for a while, but before the power of a new growth it must fall.

We say that that failure was the cause; for although the Pilgrims intimate in their Journal that the occasion of entering into that compact was the manifestation of some disobedient unruly humors in some of the little company, yet if they had been in possession of a regular charter from the King, covering their incorporation as a colony where they landed, it is not probable that they would have felt the need of any other morally coercive compact than the terms of that. God's providence is to be marked in leading them to that, as well as to their religious covenant; the one sealing them, by the spirit of God, as a free Church, the other, as a free voluntary civil and political community.

Mr. Baylies refers the symptoms of insubordination solely to the servants that had been shipped in England, and were not members of the Pilgrim Church. "Their servants," he says,* "who had not been members of the Leyden congregation, but who for the most part had been gathered up in England, seemed to anticipate a perfect freedom from the restraints both of law and government." They had probably been made to believe this; and the company, being really under no present authority whatever, and having no charter, had reason to apprehend the greatest difficulty from any spirit of insubordination that might break out, and so were driven to the choice of a Governor, and to an agreement of self-government and obedience among themselves. "Some of the inferior class among them had muttered," says Hutchinson, "that, when they

* Baylies' Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, vol. i., p. 27.

should get ashore, one man would be as good as another, and they would do what seemed good in their own eyes."* It is very likely these mutinous dispositions were set at work and inflamed by Billington, the first offender in the colony, and afterwards a murderer. There were also two vulgar imitators of high life in England among the servants, who, as we shall see, played the part of the first duellists in New England, and were punished for it.

If these insubordinate servants were the means of inducing that compact on board the May Flower, it was not in vain, nor for evil, that they were shipped from England with the little company from Leyden. Whether its authors and signers foresaw, or thoroughly understood, or much less intended, the full extent of what they were doing, is of little importance. Indeed it was not possible that they could even dream what an empire of perfect liberty and self-government they were founding; to what principles they were giving embodiment for future generations, principles that, more than two hundred years after they were all laid in their graves, should shake all Europe, nay the whole world, to its centre. Principles they were, that under a religious guidance made their own chosen wilderness like the garden of the Lord; but principles that, without such guidance or preparation, break out as sudden, overwhelming, devastating volcanoes, after which there must pass whole ages perhaps, before a new verdure can rise upon the mouldering lava. It is by *celestial* observations alone, said Mr. Coleridge, that *terrestrial* charts can be constructed; and how perfectly true is this remark as to the governments and liberties of modern Europe. Religion must lay the foundation of freedom, or there will be none.

> "What comes from heaven to heaven by nature clings,
> And if dissevered thence, its life is short."

* Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., vol. ii., p. 407.

Now it is remarkable how often the Providence of God shut up the Colonists to the repetition of these same free Covenants, both in Church and State, sometimes by compelling them to settle without the regular patents which they had been seeking, and sometimes by throwing them upon places of settlement beyond the limits of the patents which they had obtained. This was the case with the first Colony of Connecticut, in 1636. "They had a sort of commission from the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, for the administration of justice till they could come to a more orderly settlement; but finding themselves without the limits of *their* jurisdiction, they entered into a voluntary association, choosing magistrates, and making laws for themselves, after the example of the Colony from whence they issued. Thus they continued, until the restoration of King Charles II., when, by the industry and application of Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., they obtained as ample a charter as was ever enjoyed by any people." *

The same was the case with the colony under Eaton and Davenport, in 1637, at New Haven. "They purchased of the natives," says Mr. Neal, "all the land that lies between Connecticut River and Hudson's, which divides the Southern part of New England from New York, and removed thither towards the latter end of the summer. They seated themselves in the Bay, and spread along the coast, where they built first the town of New Haven, which gives name to the colony; and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Braintree. After some time they crossed the Bay, and made several settlements in Long Island, erecting churches in all places where they came, after the Independent form, of which Mr. Davenport was a great patron. But the New Haven Colony lay under the same disadvantage with Connecticut, as to a charter; they were without the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and were therefore under no government, nor had any other title to

* Neal's History of New England, Vol. ii., page 148.

their lands, but what they had from the natives. They entered therefore into a voluntary combination, and formed themselves into a body politic, after the manner of those of Connecticut. Thus they continued, till the year 1664, when King Charles II. united the two colonies, and by a charter settled their liberties on a solid foundation." *

Settled their liberties on a solid foundation! But God had settled them before. The Historian seems to imagine that they had no solid foundation, till the King of England chartered them; and *such* a King to charter the liberty of the Pilgrims! The Historian seems to be marvelling in his mind how *could* the poor, unprotected, ungoverned, because unchartered, adventurers, possibly get on from 1637 to 1664, without the King's broad seal, and with their lands only purchased from the natives! How they could live and prosper, with the mere voluntary framing of themselves into a body politic, with their own laws and magistrates, after the manner of those of Connecticut, seemed a riddle to the royalist spectators. And even Mr. Neal appears to think that their title to their lands was really better, signed with the name of King Charles, than with the arrowheads of the Sachems from whom they were purchased.

The only use of a charter, that we can think of, was to give them the privileges of an incorporation by law, and to secure them from the intrusion of other companies or individuals. But as to the security of their liberties under such Monarchs as the Stuarts, if they were not secured by their own virtue, firmness, and voluntary combination, a charter was worth nothing. Besides, in the view of the royalists, the people chartered by the Monarch were bound to be of his sentiments in their religious as well as their civil polity, and every ordinance and institution of the Church of England was binding upon them. Even in our own day, by distinguished historians, a grave charge has been brought against our Pilgrim Fathers, for daring to

* Neal's Hist. N. Eng. Vol. i., pages 152, 153.

disregard the sentiments of the Monarch under whose authority they settled in America, so far as even to adopt in their infant church the Independent form of Ecclesiastical policy! One can hardly read such sober accusations without a smile; but the Historian Grahame devotes several of his excellent pages to their refutation.*

* Grahame's Colonial History of the United States, Vol. i. 208—211.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT, FOLLOWING THE FIRST COMPACT.—DISCOVERY OF PLYMOUTH.—THE HARBOR, THE LOCALITIES, THE ASSOCIATIONS.—PLYMOUTH ROCK, AND THE BEAUTY OF THE HIGH-TIDE SCENERY.

The Capes of New England are regions both of material and spiritual grandeur, for the sea-scenery is glorious, and the historical associations are full of interest. Take a favorable season of the year, and a clear bright day, a day, for example, in the Indian summer, and earth has not anything to show more fair, in a mood of harmony between the atmosphere and ocean, than the sea-views all along the New England coast. Some of its harbors are of the finest in the world ; but others, if they can be called such, receive unprotected the whole broadside of the Atlantic. There is an inexhaustible and most romantic variety in the bays, capes, beaches, inlets, islands, promontories, crags, and marsh-meadows of its rock-bound shores.

The sweep of Cape Cod is a most remarkable formation. Since the creation of the world we know not what use was ever made of it, till the May Flower was stopped by it in her voyage, and compelled there to come to anchor. An enthusiastic mind wanders over that whole region with delight; for here was the opening of a new dispensation in the great things that connect earth with heaven ; a new

scene in the History of Redemption ; a new school, a free school, of discipline and instruction for God's church. Here the imaginative and romantic are combined with the sternest realities, in the circle of Christian life, labor, and experience, in the unfolding of God's plan. In process of time there may be a new Christian Epic, and these rude names and places of Cape Cod, Pakanokit, Patuxet, Naumkeag, will be among the central points of a region invested with imaginative beauty, and fraught with rich and powerful associations ; so that by and by the Islands of the Homeric seas, and the coasts of Palinurus' navigation, will not possess a more poetical and classic interest.

From Cape Cod Harbor, leaving the May Flower there, the Pilgrims set out on their exploring expeditions to find a place of permanent settlement. They were anxious and hurried, not only by the lateness of the season, on the verge of winter, but by the actual danger of being set ashore anywhere, at the will of the Captain of the little ship, and abandoned of all human aid to their fate, even before they had a single roof for shelter. There are one or two passages in the Journal, which, combined with some historical hints from other sources, have a great deal of meaning in them, to open fully to our minds the hazardous position of the Pilgrims. Of this nature is that note among their reasons urged for a hasty settlement at Cape Cod, namely : "it was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us ; but when that grew less, they would be gone, and let us shift as we could." It is quite evident from this, and from some other indications, that they feared the ship-master, and had no confidence in him ; which inclines us to give some credit to the affirmation of Mr. Morton in his memorial, that the May Flower was forced into Cape Cod harbor "more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of Mr. Jones, the master of the ship ; for their intention, as is before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river.

But some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, &c., to disappoint them of their going thither. But God outshoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow."*

Be this as it may, they were in anxious haste for settlement, and came near settling on the Cape itself.

"The master of the ship," says Mr. Morton, "and his company, pressed them with speed to look out a place for their settlement, at some near distance; for the season was such that he would not stir from thence, till a safe harbor was discovered by them with the boat. Yea, it was sometimes threatened that if they did not get a place in time, they and their goods should be turned on shore, and the ship should leave them. The master also expressed himself that provisions were spending apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and company for their return (to England)."

By the 10th of December, they had come in their explorings as far as Clark's Island, in Plymouth harbor; so called, because Thomas Clark, the mate of the May Flower, first set foot upon it. They described this harbor as "a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land, and in the bay two fine Islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnuts, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees, which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl, and excellent food, and cannot but be of fish in their seasons." Such was Plymouth then, to their view very hopeful, and there they determined to settle, and there landed on the Rock. In the space of two hundred years, the localities have so far changed, at least in the mantle thrown over them by time and cultivation, that if the Pilgrims could rise from their

* Morton, New England's Memorial.

graves at this day, they would hardly know the place of their pilgrimage, especially if they should see sailless ships rushing into the harbor against both wind and tide, and a long train of cars thundering into the town upon the rail-road. Doubtless they have seen all this progress from the world of spirits, and are now beholding the future results of it far more clearly, and from a higher post of observation than we.

And the Rock—Plymouth Rock—would they know the place where they landed? Under present circumstances, one might make the circuit of the whole water-side of the village, and scarce find granite data for even a guess as to the spot so sacred now in the annals of New England. When the shallop from the May Flower first touched that spot it was an imperfect rocky ledge, partly covered with the sea at high tide, but now almost entirely hidden by the earth of the street, and at some little distance from the margin of the water. This sacred spot is in the gangway to a wharf, between two store-houses for grain. Yet one can see, on consideration, that if the buildings, with their foundations, and the accumulated soil around them, were taken away, together with the wharves that stretch out beyond them, so that nature could be restored to the rude simplicity and savageness of 1620, an admirable picture might be drawn, not from imagination, but reality, of the Pilgrims stepping from their shallop on the wave-worn rock.

Nevertheless, the disappointment in the minds of most persons, on visiting the spot as it now appears to the eye, is very great. "What! *This* the Pilgrim Rock!" they exclaim, "this dusty lane and wharf-way between these old store-houses! Why, this is no rock at all." And indeed, several tons of the Rock having been removed, and the rest being nearly hidden with earth, there seems to be nothing left. The huge fragment taken away is now deposited in front of Pilgrim Hall, and is there surrounded

by an iron railing, with the names of the Pilgrims inscribed in ovals at the top. Perhaps it would be in better taste to carry the fragment back to its native original position, and there encircle it with whatever defences may be requisite for its protection. There should be a park there, down to the water's edge; for where in the world, out of Judea or Egypt, is there a more sacred bit of soil, be it rock or rich mould, than that which the feet of those men first pressed, as the chosen spot where the home should be of the free to worship God? It is a solemn place; the incongruities of the artificial scenery around it are of no avail to diminish the impression, when the great reality presses on the mind. It is felt to be a solemn spot, when, on Forefathers' Day, the procession of men bare-headed passes over it; each man silently, reverently, as he approaches it, uncovering his head; it is a time, place, and scene, for thoughts much more easily imagined than described.

To gain a satisfactory impression of the localities of Plymouth Harbor, we must ascend the Burial Hill, which rises, covered with its forest of grave-stones, directly above the terrace, where the Pilgrims laid out the first rude street of their settlement. It is a very sacred spot in their history, and the view from it is incomparably fine. The town lies below you, around the bosom of the hill. A few majestic elms and lindens rise in beautiful masses of foliage among the buildings on the water side, but in general there are few trees, until the eye passes into that noble ridge of pine forest on the southeast, running out into the sea; a hill-range of the primeval wilderness, as deeply foliaged as the Green Mountains, or the Jura range in Switzerland. The wide harbor is before you, with a bar or spit of land straight stretching across the centre of it, and dividing the inner flats from the deep blue water beyond. I say the wide harbor. And now it depends very much upon the time of tide when you first enter the town, whether

you are greatly disappointed or pleased in the first impression. Plymouth harbor is one of those vast inlets so frequent along our coast, where, at high tide, you see a magnificent bay studded with islands, and opening proudly into the open ocean; but at low tide an immense extent of muddy, salt-grassed, and sea-weeded shallows, with a narrow stream winding its way among them to find the sea. Here and there lies stranded the bark of a fisherman, or a lumber schooner amidst the flats, left at low tide, not high and dry, but half sunk in the mud; and the wharves are dripping with rotting seaweed, and the shores look decaying and deserted; not pebbly or sandy like a beach, but swampy with eel grass, and strewn here and there with the skeletons of old horse-fishes, crabs, muscles, &c., among the withered layers of dry kelp. Now and then, also, the red huts and fish-flakes of the fishermen vary the scene upon the shore, or a small vessel, about as large as the May Flower, slowly though with all sail set, follows the course of the stream winding among the shallows, the only channel, at low tide, by which there is any approach from the outer open bay, towards the quay or business landing-place of the village. The extent of these flats and shallows at Cape Cod and Plymouth, was the cause of great evil and hardship at first; for, speaking of Cape Cod Bay, where the Pilgrims first came to anchor, they say: "We could not come near the shore by three-quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was by times freezing cold weather." In these colds and coughs were the seed, to some of a speedy, to others a lingering, New England consumption, which soon sowed the harbor side with graves, almost as many as the names of the living.

Now this whole range of low tide scenery, to one who is truly fond of the sea and the shore, in all their freaks, inlets,

varieties, and grand and homely moods, is not without its beauty. The poet Crabbe, or the Puritan poet, R. H. Dana, would describe it in such interesting colors that it would wear a most romantic charm; the stranded boats, and the mud flats, and the rotting sea weed, would have a strange imaginative life put into them. Nevertheless, if these are the first images of the landing of the Pilgrims presented to you, you will experience, probably, a great disappointment.

But now if you behold this same sweep of sea scenery at high tide, beneath a clear sky, a bright sun, in the coloring of morn or evening, or in the solemn stillness of an autumn noon, what an amazing change! It is no longer the same region. You would think it one of the finest harbors in the world. You would think it was the preference and selection of the human will, after long searching, that brought the Pilgrims hither, and not merely the hand and compulsion of an overruling Providence. You would think how easy and how natural for them to find their way just to this landing-place; and how beautiful and admirable the region, for the thrift of a colony, both in commercial and in country life. How differently God sees from man! He seems to have shut up the Pilgrims in this inlet, difficult of access from the sea, and barren in the country, to *set* their growth, firm and steadfast, amidst much tribulation, in dependence neither on the riches of the land, nor the sea, nor the attractions of commercial intercourse, but upon himself alone. He hid them as in a tabernacle from the strife of tongues, and let them grow, unperverted by the admiring notice, and unassaulted by the temptations of a wicked world. It was a costly growth, but glorious.

It must have been at high tide that the Pilgrims found their way into this harbor. A sweet fresh stream, setting into it from the land, was to them a great attraction, as well as the abundance of fresh fountains. Had they been able to survey the coast as far as Boston, before making

choice of their settlement, they would probably have stopped there, and the swift commercial growth that would thence have succeeded the enterprise would not have been favorable to the growth of a deep-set piety, the fixtures of stern, difficult, Puritan virtue in the character. Like New England soil itself, there must be a granite basis first, and then a sturdy, vigorous loam to last for many generations. So the settlement and growth of the Pilgrim colonies was at first slow, difficult, painful; but so much the more rapid, unprecedented, and successful afterwards. It was a native growth. If there had been such a thing as steam communication then between England and America, there would never have been a New England on this continent, as the example of social, commercial, and religious virtue and happiness for the world. Let us be thankful to God that he kept the ocean between us and Europe for two hundred years, before he lessened the distance or the difficulty of its navigation, or permitted the tide of an ignorant and vicious emigration to set with such fury upon us, as would have destroyed our infant institutions in the bud.

CHAPTER XI.

INSTRUCTIVE DISCIPLINE OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH AT AMSTERDAM.—ORIGINAL ORDER AND BEAUTY OF THE CHURCHES THERE.—EVILS OF DISSENSION, AND OF MINUTE LEGISLATION.—THE FORBEARING AND KINDLY SPIRIT OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH.

Together with Robinson and Brewster, there is mention in Governor Bradford's writings of a grave and fatherly old man, having a great white beard; a sound, orthodox, reverend old man, who had converted many to God by his faithful and painstaking ministry, both in preaching and catechizing. This was Mr. Richard Clifton, one of the earliest members in that Congregational Church in the North of England, of which Mr. Robinson was chosen the Pastor. Mr. Clifton accompanied the Church in its exile to Amsterdam, but on account of his great age did not remove with it from Amsterdam to Leyden, but took his dismission from them to join the Church in Amsterdam. In that church there were at one time about three hundred communicants, under the care of two eminent men as their Pastor and Teacher, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth. In the time of their beauty and order, before the canker of division and bitterness, they were a flourishing church, having "four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, and one ancient widow for deaconess, who did them service many years, though she

was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place, and was an ornament to the congregation."

The Leyden Church does not seem to have kept up any such office or service as this latter. The notice of it by Gov. Bradford is very curious, reminding one of the pictures in Shenstone's Schoolmistress.

Her cap, far whiter than the driven snow,
Emblem right meet of decency does yield;
Her apron dyed in grain, as blue, I trow,
As is the harebell that adorns the field;
And in her hand for sceptre she does wield
Tway birchen sprays; with anxious fear entwined,
With dark distrust and sad repentance filled;
And steadfast hate, and sharp affliction joined,
And fury uncontrolled, and chastisement unkind.

Here oft the dame, on Sabbath's decent eve,
Hymned such Psalms as Sternhold forth did mete;
If winter 'twere, she to her hearth did cleave,
But in her garden found a summer seat;
Sweet melody! to hear her then repeat
How Israel's sons, beneath a foreign king,
While taunting foemen did a song entreat,
All for the nonce untuning every string,
Uphung their useless lyres—small heart had they to sing.

For she was just, and friend to virtuous lore,
And passed much time in truly virtuous deed;
And in those elfins' ears would oft deplore
The times when truth by Popish rage did bleed,
And tortuous death was true devotion's meed;
And simple faith in iron chains did mourn
That would on wooden image place her creed;
And many a saint in smouldering flames did burn;
Ah! dearest Lord, forefend thilk days should e'er return.

Right well she knew each temper to descry,
To thwart the proud, and the submiss to raise;
Some with vile copper-prize exalt on high,
And some entice with pittance small of praise;
And other some with baleful sprig she frays;

Even absent she the reins of power doth hold,
While with quaint arts the giddy crowd she sways;
Forewarned, if little bird their pranks behold,
'Twill whisper in her ear, and all the scene unfold.

Lo, now with state she utters her command,
Eftsoons the urchins to their tasks repair,
Their books of stature small they take in hand,
Which with pellucid horn secured are,
To save from fingers wet the letters fair;
The work so gay, that on their back is seen,
St. George's high achievements does declare;
On which thilk wight that has ygazing been
Kens the forth-coming rod, unpleasing sight I ween.

Not unlike this must have been the character of the venerable deaconess, in whose rule as a Mother in Israel, with maidens and young women, among the poor and sick, or by birchen rod, and on bench of State, among the children, in time of public worship, there was not a little of the simplicity of primitive discipline. She was a mild reflection, to the urchins of that day, of the image of the old-fashioned Connecticut Tythingmen.

"She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation," says Gov. Bradford, "with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and as there was need called out maids and young women to watch, and do them other helps as their necessity did require: and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those who were able, or acquaint the deacons: and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ."

There are such mothers in Israel still, by virtue of deep and well known piety, and old experience, but without the title and distinction of office. The reality of deaconesses has not passed out of the churches, although the office has. Yet now in some parts of the modern Evangelical Church efforts are making to revive it.

But notwithstanding all this beauty and order in the church at Amsterdam, the spirit of discord broke out among them, and in such a way, that one is inclined to think that the providence of God led the Pilgrim Church with Robinson and Brewster to Amsterdam first, that by the example of such ruinous dissensions from little causes before them, they might hate and vigilantly avoid the same; that they might love peace above all other things except the truth, and that they might ever be charitable and yielding in little and indifferent things, and might seek the things which make for peace, and those whereby one might edify another. This they did, remarkably, being an eminent example of uninterrupted love, kindness, disinterestedness, freedom, liberality, and concord with one another. We cannot doubt that their sojourn at Amsterdam, and the melancholy example of the fire of contention there, with the still older and more sadly instructive case at Frankfort, was of great benefit to them ; it admonished them of the ways in which Satan, if permitted, would get an advantage over them ; it made them acquainted with his devices, and put them on their guard against the spirit of envy, jealousy, censoriousness, and bitterness in their own hearts, that if they found it working they might at once, by the help of Christ's grace, cast it out. The beautiful, apostolic, gentle, and heavenly tenor of Robinson's instructions on these points, and the frequency with which he repeated them, and dwelt upon them, and warned his dear flock, both at Leyden and in the wilderness, to be on their defence and to guard unceasingly against the spirit of self-prejudice, self-opinion, self-seeking, self-obstinacy in every way, and to be kindly and forbearing in regard to the humors, peculiarities, and causes of minor offence, which they might see in others, grew much out of his experience there; and out of God's discipline and grace, teaching him to flee from discussion and contention about minute rules, and things indifferent, and pets of private opinion,

as the very bane or gangrene of a vital, vigorous, comprehensive piety.

In that church of God at Amsterdam, there were some unreasonable, if not wicked men, given to oppositions of self-will and vain janglings about mint, anise, and cummin, how many ribbons a woman should wear upon her bonnet, and other like things; and among these self-opinionated men were the father and brother of the Pastor himself, Mr. Johnson, arrayed against his own wife, for what they judged to be her pride in apparel. These men carried their opposition and bitterness to such unreasonable and endless length, with such evil accompaniments as would naturally grow out of such a spirit of incessant strife, that the church, after long patience towards them, and much pains taken with them, proceeded at last to excommunicate them; probably as the only possible means of getting rid of the evil, and avoiding utter ruin; for Governor Bradford says that such was the justice of the excommunication, that the Pastor himself could not but consent thereto, although for that he was much blamed, as having excommunicated his own father and brother. And indeed it was a case of difficulty that would have put Paul himself in a perplexity; although, from the manifest indignation of the Apostle against such a spirit of Diotrephesianism in the church, and of meddling and *busybodiness* in other men's matters, and obstinacy and strife, and insolent judgment of others' opinions, we may be quite clear how he would have acted. But this flame of strife, together with the subtilty of one of the elders of the church, produced most painful and injurious consequences.

And yet Governor Bradford says that the wife of the Pastor, against whom all this wrath of censoriousness and self-opinion was directed, was a most excellent and grave matron, and very modest both in her apparel and all her demeanor, ready to any good works in her place, and helpful to many, especially the poor, and an ornament to the

Pastor's calling. She was a young widow when he married her, having been the wife of a merchant, so that he received by her a good estate, besides that she was truly a godly woman; but because she continued to wear such apparel as she had ever been used to, these meddlers and men of strife broke out against her. And yet Mr. Bradford tells us that her apparel was neither excessive nor immodest, and that their chiefest exceptions were against her wearing corked shoes for her feet, and whalebone in the bodice and sleeves of her gown, and other such like things as the citizens of her rank then used to wear. But not only so, but both the Pastor and his wife were willing, for the sake of avoiding offence, to reform the fashions of their garments, so far as they could without spoiling of them; yet all would not content the offended and opposing ones, "except they came full up to their size." Such was the excessive rigidness of some in those times; of which Robinson and his church seem to have taken good caution, by seeing the dreadful evils resulting from such a course in the church of God.

The violence of some men's tempers, says Mr. Hubbard quaintly and truly, in his History of New England, while dwelling on some such occasion,—the violence of some men's tempers makes them raise debates, when debates do not justly offer themselves, and like mill-stones they grind one another, when they want other grist. In some of the churches of the New England colonies there were from time to time such men, as also there were here and there very needless causes of disputation and legislation on things indifferent, as concerning the duty of women to wear veils; but the church at Plymouth was remarkably free from this disputatious and uncharitable spirit; they had a disposition and character of forbearance and freedom to be attributed to God's peculiar discipline with them, and to the experience and instruction of their beloved Pastor. Take, however, all the instances of sectarian or oppressive legislation or

usage in the whole history of the New England churches from their foundation, and there can be found nothing to compare with the inquisitorial minuteness and tyrannical severity with which the Church of England legislated on men's garments, sports, and manners, enforcing her rubrics on pain of imprisonment and death. All the *fabled* Blue Laws of Connecticut, though their falsehoods were enlarged into volumes, would be nothing in absurdity and cruelty compared with the *actual* laws which filled the statute books of the Establishment, and set an example to the Pilgrims of Plymouth, and the other colonists, which it is wonderful they had the wisdom and the piety so wholly to avoid. The *examples* before them were all of intolerance and oppression; the model, which was *original* with *them*, which they themselves struck out and gradually brought to perfection, that of freedom, forbearance, kindness, and good sense. They put the weightier matters of the law uppermost, love, mercy, and faith, and gave to the mint, anise, and cummin a subordinate and just position.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

Governor Bradford deserves, as he possesses, a memorial of the deepest veneration and love, in the hearts of all who know his character. The colony at Plymouth, perhaps, owed more of its prosperity to him, under God, than to any other one man or many friends, either there or in England. His character was not unlike that of Washington; nay, there is a very striking resemblance. He was placed in emergencies and perils, as the leader of the colony, very similar in kind, though different in form and circumstance, to some of those through which Washington passed with such consummate prudence; with equal self-possession and prudence, with a piety relying solely upon God, did Bradford guide the ship of the infant colony through the breakers. He was a man whose *natural* stamp of character was very much like Franklin's; but in him a calm and noble nature was early renewed and enriched by grace, and brought under its supreme dominion; not left to attach itself to earth only, or to exhibit the qualities of a sage in the wisdom of mere mortal humanity.

He was born, according to Cotton Mather, in an obscure village called Austerfield, in England, in the year 1588; a

place where the people were ignorant, licentious, and quite unacquainted with the Bible, as any man will see reason to believe, who reads John Foster's description of popular ignorance in England under the reign of Elizabeth. He inherited a comfortable patrimony, but his parents died in his childhood, and left him to be educated by his grand parents and uncles, simply in the affairs of husbandry. In after years he regarded it as a blessing of God's Providence that early and long continued sickness preserved him from the vanities, and perhaps excesses of the period of youthful temptation, amidst so many vicious and depraved examples.

It was probably the confinement of his illness that led him to the perusal of the Scriptures, for at the age of twelve years his mind began to be much impressed with the reading of them, and prepared for the rich evangelical instructions he was afterwards to enjoy. In the neighborhood of his native inheritance, or not far from it, a man of true piety and acquaintance with God's word exercised his ministry, an *illuminating* ministry, as it is called by Cotton Mather, with much fruit of his labors in the conversion of many to God. We are not told whether he had a curacy or preferment of any kind in the Church of England, but as Yorkshire was one of the counties in which the Churches of the Puritans began earliest to be gathered, and in which the persecution against them under Queen Elizabeth raged most fiercely, we suppose, from the character given of his ministry, that he must have been, at the time of Bradford's first acquaintance with him, one of the non-conforming ministers scourged out of office. He was one of the earliest members of the Pilgrim Church at its gathering in 1602, and at the time of their exile into Holland, Mr. Bradford describes him as a grave, fatherly, reverend old man and faithful preacher, with a great white beard.

It was about 1600 that Bradford, with his youthful heart fresh under the simple and deep impressions received from God's Word, came to the enjoyment of Mr. Clifton's

teachings. Very much like Richard Baxter in the period of his earliest religious anxieties, he was much aided by the conversation of a young person, then apparently a true Christian, but afterwards an apostate, who introduced him to the company of others of similar views and feelings with his own. And now he began to be scoffed at by his neighbors and uncles as a Puritan, but nothing could divert him from his course, or interrupt the progress of the work of God's Spirit within him. Like Christian in his first awakening in the City of Destruction, he was too deeply anxious, saw too clearly the worth, the guilt, and the ruin of his soul, to be turned aside by the jeering of the idle and profane, even though they were of his own household. And very soon, by the unchristian nature of the persecutions raging around him, he and his fellow-disciples of Christ, after sundry years of patient endurance of trial, were led to see by the light of God's Word that the ceremonies imposed upon them were, in such penal imposition, unlawful, and that the tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to, being contrary to the freedom of the gospel compulsorily burdening men's consciences with a profane mixture of persons and things in God's worship. By reading, by discourse, and prayer, they were led to question whether they ought not to form a separate church and society of the faithful, who should keep close to the written Word of God as the rule of their worship. They were at length brought to the determination that they both might and ought thus enter into a voluntary church covenant with Christ and with one another, to walk in his ways, whatever it might cost them. And thus was the Pilgrim Church gathered from the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham.

Bradford himself passed through many distresses of mind as to his own duty, but at length, in God's mercy, saw it very clearly, and engaged in it without the least hesitation. "He took up," says Cotton Mather, "a very deliberate and

understanding resolution," which he cheerfully prosecuted, although the rage of his friends and relatives tried all imaginable ways to reclaim him from his madness. Some lamented him, some derided him, all dissuaded him; but he was no Pliable to be turned back by the Slough, either of importunity or persecution, and the more they vexed him, the more fervent grew his purpose, and the more earnestly and resolutely he persevered. He answered their arguments and reproaches thus: "Were I like to endanger my life, or consume my estate by any ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very seasonable; but you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your company; to part from which will be as great an evil as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life itself. Wherefore, since it is for a good cause that I am like to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me or sorry for me. Yea, I am not only willing to part with everything that is dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am also thankful that God has given me a heart so to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him."

From 1602 to 1606 Bradford remained with the church, a partaker of their afflictions in the gospel, which, towards the end of that period, were many and grievous to be borne. After their division into two congregations the Pilgrim church contrived to elude the malice of their persecutors, by meetings appointed from one place to another, as they could, so that for about a year they succeeded in maintaining worship every Sabbath. But this could not last, and at length, by joint consent, they resolved to flee into Holland. But even this short passage they did not accomplish without the extremest difficulty and hardship, encountering pillage, prisons, and almost death in the way. All the

ports and havens in England were shut upon them, so that they were forced to escape secretly, by bribing the sailors, and likewise paying extravagant sums for conveyance.

The first attempt made by Bradford was in company with a large number of the church, who hired a ship at Boston wholly for themselves, and engaged the master to take them at a particular day. After long waiting and large expenses, the mercenary wretch, having laid a plot on shore to betray them, came by night and got them with their goods on board, and then gave them up to the insolence of the catchpole officers, who cast them into open boats, rifled them of their money, books, and goods, hurried them back with much indecency, both men and women, amidst a crowd of gazers and scoffers, into the town, and there threw them all into prison. Seven of them, among whom was Elder Brewster, were kept imprisoned and bound over to the assizes, but the greater part were released, and sent back to their native villages in the space of about a month.

Bradford was now eighteen years of age, elastic, and full of the courage and hope of youth amidst all these difficulties. The next spring, in 1608, they made another attempt, and hired a Dutchman at Hull to take them over; but on the appointed day, by the time a single boat-load of the men had been got on board (the bark being grounded, and so delayed, in which the women and children were placed, with the goods to be conveyed to the ship), the whole country was out in pursuit of them, horse and foot, as against a foreign invasion. When the Dutch captain saw that, he swore his country's oath, weighed anchor and made sail instantly, without any regard to the distress of the poor men thus separated from their wives and children, or of the poor women and children thus left unprotected on the shore. Meantime a tremendous storm arose of fourteen days' endurance, in which they were driven even to the coast of Norway; neither sun, moon, nor stars were

visible for seven days; but at length, by the mercy of God, after imminent peril of foundering, they reached port in safety. There also the women and children whom they had left behind them, after being driven about from one constable to another, in endurance of much distress and suffering, were at length permitted to join them; and the rest of their brethren, after great storms of opposition, and "notable passages of trouble in wanderings and travels by sea and by land, got over at last, some at one time and some at another, and met together again with no small rejoicing."

But here they were, in the midst of a strange city, at Amsterdam, unacquainted at first with the trades and traffic by which the country doth subsist, having been used only to "a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry." Their perplexities and trials must have been very great. Bradford betook himself at once to learning the art of working or dyeing in silks. Then at the end of two years, so soon as his age permitted him to do it, when the church had removed to Leyden, he converted his estate in England into ready money and set up for himself. But in his business he met with disappointments and losses, which he received as God's checks and chastisements, because he had, in the midst of worldly cares, "suffered his inward piety to fall into certain decays;" the consumption of his estate, Cotton Mather tells, he thought came to prevent a consumption in his virtue.

When the Pilgrim Church was translated from Leyden to Plymouth, Bradford was 32 years of age. Both with his estate, what there was of it remaining, and his personal activity, he must have been of the most invaluable service amidst all the business, harassments, and difficulties of their preparation for the voyage. He had been married in England, and had at least one child living. Notwithstanding the sickness and disadvantages of his childhood, and the various changes, interruptions, and adventures of his life,

he had acquired an excellent education, especially in the languages. He was master of the Dutch tongue, almost as his vernacular dialect; the French was familiar to him; the Latin and Greek he had learned thoroughly; but above all he most diligently studied the Hebrew, because, as he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty. He had mingled much with men of various classes, habits, opinions, and pursuits, and had learned to bear with the prejudices of his neighbors, and to avoid the spirit of obstinacy and intolerance, especially in indifferent things, while yet he held firmly, without the least abatement, to the truth. His experience in Amsterdam and Leyden, as well as the admirable instructions and example of his Pastor, had taught him much heavenly wisdom, and he could discern and note the evil tendencies and extremes, not only of intolerant superstition and formalism in the church party, but of unnecessary and uncharitable rigidness in his own.

He gives a curious illustration of the manners and prejudices of his own times and native region in England. He says he was in the company of a godly man who had been long time a prisoner at Norwich for Christ's sake, but was set at liberty by Judge Cooke. After going into the country and visiting his friends, this man was returning to pass over into the Low Countries by ship at Yarmouth, and there desired Mr. Bradford and some others to go with him to the house of an ancient woman in the city, who had been very kind and helpful to him in his sufferings. The eyes of the good woman were dim and almost blind with age, but she knew the voice of her friend, and made him very welcome, and those who were with him. After some time of their entertainment, when they were ready to depart, she came to her old guest, and felt of his band at the neck-cloth, and perceiving it was something stiffened with starch, she was much displeased, and reproved him very sharply, fearing God would not prosper his journey. Poor

woman, the starch was more in her heart than in the man's neck-cloth, and she herself was all unconsciously in that particular, under the rueful influence of the mint and anise system of the Pharisees. For the man was a plain countryman, clad in grey russet, without either welt or guard, as the proverb is, and the band he wore was scarce worth three pence, and what is more, it was made of his wife's own home-spinning; and he was as godly and humble as he was plain. Governor Bradford, in relating this story, shows very clearly what he thought of this good lady's unreasonable strictness, and he asks, what would such professors, if they were now living, say to the excess of our times ?

At the age of thirty-two, with a ripeness of experience, a vigor of judgment, a strength and energy of purpose, and at the same time a mildness, charitableness, and patience of temper, which fitted him for a foremost part in the great enterprise of the Pilgrims, Mr. Bradford embarked with them, and gave himself and his means unsparingly to all the labors of the undertaking. The humility, the forbearance, the entire absence of all disposition to rule, which marked the characters of these men, is wonderful. Carver was chosen their first Governor, but God had been preparing for them a permanent leader and councillor, in Bradford, when the object of their first choice was so early and suddenly taken away. He had all the qualities which fitted him to command, while he seemed but to follow. Cotton Mather remarks most truly that if he had not been a person of more than ordinary wisdom, courage, and piety, he must have sunk under the difficulties of the first year of the colony. It is interesting and instructive minutely to trace his steps as they are recorded first in the journal of the Pilgrims, and afterwards in the accurate annals of Prince. You are tracing the biography of an unassuming, unconscious Christian hero.

With the Pilgrims in Holland, and indeed with all their

unfoldings of character and enterprise, until they are set down in the untrodden wilds of their empire of industry and piety, in the New World, Governor Bradford is rather connected by his own history of the Church, than by any prominent events in which he himself was foremost. There are passages in his history where he writes evidently as an eyewitness, and we think of him as present and taking a part, but not because he is named. The embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven is linked with the remembrance both of Bradford and Winslow, because they have each described it in such simple, unaffected language, with the feelings of the heart. They were both marked personages in that scene "of interest unparalleled, that scene of few and simple incidents, just the setting out of a handful of not then very famous persons, on a voyage; but which, as we gaze on it, begins to speak to you as with the voices and melodies of an immortal hymn, which dilates and becomes idealized into the auspicious going forth of a colony, whose planting has changed the history of the world;—a noble colony of devout Christians, educated, firm men, valiant soldiers, and honorable women; a colony, on the commencement of whose heroic enterprise the selectest influences of religion seemed to be descending visibly; and beyond whose perilous path are hung the rainbow and the western star of empire." *

From the time when Governor Bradford enters upon his administration of the affairs of the colony, year after year its history is his. He was in an eminent degree the moving and guiding genius of the enterprise. His conduct towards the Indians was marked with such wisdom, energy, and kindness, that he soon gained a powerful influence over them. With the people of the colony, not merely his first fellow-pilgrims, but all that came successively afterwards, he had equal authority and power, without the necessity of assuming it. The most heedless among them seem to have

* Hon. Rufus Choate's New England Society Address.

feared and respected him. He set them all at work, and would have none idle in the community, being resolved that if any would not work, neither should they eat. Cotton Mather gives an account of a company of young fellows newly arrived, who were very unwilling to comply with his orders, or rather with the arrangements of the Colony, for working in the fields on the public account. But on Christmas Day they excused themselves from the labors of the public industry, under pretence that it was against their conscience to do any work on that day. The Governor told them if that were the case, he would spare them till they were better informed; but soon afterwards he found them all at play in the street, hard at work upon their diversions, as if in obedience to the Book of Sports. That being the case, he very quietly took away the instruments of their games, and gave them to understand that he had a conscience as well as they, and that it was against his conscience as the Governor that they should play while the others were at work; so that, if they had any devotion to the day, they should show it at home, in the exercise of religion, and not in the street, with their pastime and frolics. The reproof was as effectual as it was happy, and the Governor was plagued with no more such tender consciences.*

His administration of affairs as connected with the Merchant Adventurers, was a model of firmness, patience, forbearance, energy, and enterprise. With a few others, as we have seen, he took the whole trade of the Colony into his hands, with the assumed responsibility of paying off all their debts, and the benevolent determination to bring over the rest of their brethren from Leyden. His activity in the prosecution of this great undertaking was indefatigable. Meanwhile, no other business, either of the piety or civil polity of the Colony, was neglected. He made such arrangements, in conjunction with his brethren,

* Mather's Magnalia, Vol. i. 103.

to redeem their labor from the hopelessness of its conditions in the Adventuring copartnership under which they were bound for the seven years' contract with the Merchants, as inspired them all speedily with new life and courage. Under the pressure of the famine his example was as a star of hope, for he never yielded to despondency; and while with Brewster he threw them upon God for support and provision, he set in motion every possible instrumentality for procuring supplies. He went in person with parties among the Indians for corn, and took part himself in every labor. There was a time amidst the sharpest pressure of the famine, when they had but one boat for their fishing expeditions, and were compelled to divide their little force into several companies, to go out and fish by turns, with absence of five or six days together, rather than return empty handed, the others meanwhile employing themselves in digging for shellfish. This was the time when for months together they had neither bread nor corn, and knew not, when they lay down at night, where they should find a morsel of food for the morrow, nor in the morning where they should provide for the day. This was the time when Mr. Winslow says that at noonday he had seen men stagger at their work, by reason of faintness for want of food. Yet was the temper of the Colony characterized by "cheerfulness and rest on Providence," and in no little measure because of the serenity and patience of their leader. It was a period that demanded the highest qualities of a commander in unwearied exercise.

So it was when the colony was surrounded with conspiracies, and nourished them at one time, by the treachery of men in England, even in its own bosom. The prudence, sagacity, and energy of Governor Bradford on such occasions may be seen in the chapter detailing the treachery of Lyford. The fearless deportment of the Governor and the Colony towards the threatening tribes of Indians was

no small cause of their security; "we all the while," says Mr. Winslow, "knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them." It seemed a time of mortal peril, when Canonicus, the Sachem of the Narragansetts, sent to the Governor his savage defiance and declaration of war, a bundle of new arrows lapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Having learned the meaning of this from the friendly Squanto, "the Governor, after some deliberation," says Mr. Winslow, "stuffed the skin with powder and shot" and sent it back to Canonicus with the message that if he had shipping in the harbor to send his men at once to the Narragansetts they should have no need to come to Plymouth, and come when they might, they should neither be unwelcome nor unlooked for. The message was sent by an Indian, and was delivered in such sort that it struck no small terror into the savage king; insomuch that he dared not even touch the powder and shot, nor would suffer it to stay in his house or country. "Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length it came whole back again."*

In the spiritual prosperity of the Colony, Governor Bradford took an incessant and most anxious interest, possessing in himself, in no small degree, the wisdom and temper of his beloved Pastor Robinson. Under him and Brewster the Plymouth Church maintained their superiority in the liberality and independence of their views above all the other colonies. The answer which the Governor made to their slanderers in England, in regard to their church policy and customs, breathed the very spirit of scriptural wisdom and freedom so remarkable in the parting discourse of Robinson to the Pilgrims. "Whereas you would tie us up to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from the liberty we have in Christ Jesus. The apostle Paul would have none to follow

* Winslow's Relation in Young's Chronicles, 283.

him in anything but wherein he follows Christ; much less ought any Christian or church in the world to do it. The French may err, we may err, other churches may err, and doubtless do in many circumstances. That honor therefore belongs only to the infallible word of God, and pure Testament of Christ, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogancy for any man or church to think that he or they have so sounded the Word of God unto the bottom, as precisely to set down the church's discipline without error in substance or circumstance, that no other without blame may digress or differ in anything from the same. And it is not difficult to show that the Reformed churches differ in many circumstances among themselves." *

Cotton Mather remarks that Governor Bradford was well skilled in History, Antiquity, Philosophy, and Theology; and indeed his works bear witness to this, especially that admirable Dialogue on Church Policy and freedom, which was copied by Secretary Morton into the Records of the Church at Plymouth, and at length printed by Dr. Young in his valuable Chronicles of the Pilgrims. In that, as in the interesting Memoir of Elder Brewster, and other pieces, the author shows command of a natural, excellent, Saxon style, a fine, free, unprejudiced habit of thought, a benevolent heart, good sense, and deep Christian feeling. His habits of study must have been something remarkable, amidst all his cares and public responsibilities. We owe an inestimable benefit to his piety, his fine mind, and his public spirit, with his love of truth, for preserving and recording so much of the early history of the Pilgrims and the Colony, that otherwise must have been almost wholly lost. The greater part even of his own original writings are gone from existence, though most providentially not till they had been gleaned from, abridged, or copied, in a

* Mather's Magnolia, vol. i. 104.

great degree, in the writings of others, who had access to his manuscripts. He was a man of indefatigable industry, and of great method and accuracy. The loss of his Letter Book, from which some extracts will be given in another chapter, and which must have been a copy of the man himself, as well as of the business of the Colony and the correspondence of others, must ever be greatly deplored.

Sixty years after the arrival of the May Flower in New England, with the members of the infant colony, there were still left living twelve persons, who came over in that memorable bark. Twelve grains of that precious seed corn, not yet put into the ground for the resurrection by the Lord of the harvest! The number is remarkable, when it is considered that in the very first perilous year of the enterprise, no less than half died out of the one hundred first Pilgrims. At the close of these sixty years, in 1680, Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of the Colony Court, and then 68 years of age, set himself to the work of recording "the first beginning and after progress of the Church of Christ, at Plymouth, in New England." Eleven years before, in 1669, he had published a history of the Colony entitled New England's Memorial, taken from a manuscript history by Governor Bradford, which the Governor began to write as early as the year 1630. Gov. Bradford died in 1657, and his work, in 270 folio pages, having never been published, though preserved up to the time of the Revolutionary War, was then lost. Secretary Morton had this work before him, in preparing the history which he published in 1680, and Dr. Young thinks, from the comparison of different extracts, as well as from the note by Morton, stating the matter before him to have been originally penned by Bradford, that in the main it is Bradford's veritable unpublished history.

This whole work of Governor Bradford, Mr. Prince had before him in preparing and publishing his Chronological

History of New England, up to the year 1730. He describes it as "Gov. Bradford's History of Plymouth People and Colony from 1602 to the end of 1646, in 270 pages (folio). With some account at the end, of the increase of those who came over with him, from 1620 to 1650, and all in his own handwriting."

The second work in manuscript, which Mr. Prince mentions as before him, is The Ancient Church of Plymouth Records, begun by Mr. Secretary Morton.

The third is a copy of the Grand Charter of New England, granted by King James the First, on Nov. 3d, 1620, in 86 pages.

The first book of Mr. Prince's Chronological History ends with the Lord's Day, Dec. 31, 1620, the first Sabbath kept by any of the Pilgrims in the place of their building. Here Mr. Prince says, "Governor Bradford ends his first book, containing ten chapters, in fifty-three pages, folio."

Of Mr. Morton's history from the beginning of the Plymouth people to the end of 1646, Mr. Prince observes that it was "chiefly Gov. Bradford's manuscript abbreviated."

Having been thus used by various writers, for their printed works, we may suppose that though the original work is lost, we have the main important part of it, and much in Gov. Bradford's own language.

Both Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop, and likewise Governor Winslow, were accustomed to take part in the religious exercises of their social meetings, and also on the Lord's Day. This appears by such interesting notices as the following, taken from Gov. Winthrop's own Journal, of date October 25, 1632. "The Governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, ... and others went on foot to Plymouth from Massagascus. The Governor of Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, a very discreet, grave man, with Mr. Brewster the Elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were kindly entertained, and

feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's Day there was a sacrament which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly, then Mr. Williams prophesied, and afterwards the Governor of Plymouth spoke to the question; after him the elder, then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, upon which the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the bag, and then returned."*

The deacon's seat was a throne of service, and well known. All the members of the congregation went thither to deposit their alms. It was a custom retained in some churches for many years.

We find likewise the following interesting record in Gov. Winthrop's Journal, under date of April 3d, 1634. "The Governor went on foot to Agawam, and because the people there wanted a minister, spent the Sabbath with them, and exercised by way of prophecy, and returned home on the tenth."

How beautiful the record of this truly primitive New Testament simplicity! We wonder not that Governor Bradford looked back in his old age with a sweetness in the memory as of the recollections of childhood, to those times of the freshness and power of Christ's covenant with the churches in the wilderness. Religion must have flourished indeed, when public men like Bradford, Winthrop, and Winslow, were thus active and faithful in its teachings and duties. Yet it was for just this faithfulness, for daring to "exercise by way of prophecy, when the

* Collections Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. x. p. 2. Winthrop's Journal, original edition, page 44.

people wanted a minister," that Winslow himself was afterwards thrown into prison by Archbishop Laud!

Governor Bradford managed the affairs of the colony for nearly thirty-seven years together, with admirable temper and wisdom. Until the year 1624 Gov. Bradford and Mr. Allerton were elected governor and assistant annually; the people then added four more assistants, and gave the governor a double voice; they added two more assistants in 1633, and afterwards kept to the number of seven. In the space of seventy years they had only six persons as governors. Bradford, Winslow, and Prince occupied the governorship in succession till Prince's death in 1673. Bradford was elected annually from 1621 till his death in 1657, except three years in which Winslow was chosen, and two (according to Mather) in which Prince was chosen. Winslow was chosen in 1633, 1636, and 1644.* They had no house of representatives till 1639.

In the year 1632, it was enacted by law, that any person chosen to the office of Governor and refusing it, was to be fined twenty pounds; a counsellor or magistrate chosen and refusing the office, was to be fined ten pounds.†

In the year 1633 we find a record in Governor Winthrop's Journal as follows: "Mr. Edward Winslow chosen Governor of Plymouth, Mr. Bradford having been Governor about ten years, *and now by importunity got off.*" He pleaded so hard to be let off for that year, that they yielded without fining him.

What a picture is here presented of the unworldly simplicity, contentment, disinterestedness, and freedom from ambition, of our Pilgrim Fathers! They shared each other's burdens too completely to seek or desire superiority in any other way. They sought not for office, had no parties, wished for no power, but that of doing good. It was

* Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Vol. ii. pp. 414, 415.

† Baylies' Historical Memoirs of Plymouth, p. 207.

not till prosperity had relaxed their vigilance, and men of worldly minds had been added to their company, that parties began to exist among them. Their Church Covenant was of great solemnity and power with them, "of the violation whereof," said Robinson, "we make great consequence, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by each, and that mutual."

O sacred bond! exclaimed Governor Bradford, writing in his old age, "Oh that these ancient members had not died or been dissipated, if it had been the will of God; or else that this holy care and constant faithfulness had still lived and remained with those that survived, that were in times afterwards added unto them." He laments the subtlety of the serpent, under fair pretences of necessity and the like, "to untwist these sacred bonds and ties, and as it were insensibly by degrees, to dissolve, or in a great measure to weaken the same. I have been happy in my first times to see, and with much comfort to enjoy the blessed fruits of this sweet communion. But it is now a part of my misery in my old age to find and feel the decay and want thereof in a great measure, and with grief and sorrow of heart to lament and bewail the same." And this, he says, he notes for others' warning and admonition, and his own humiliation.

It seems to be the declension or decay of pious feeling which Governor Bradford is here lamenting, and the want of the early first fervent love of the brethren, one to another, amidst their trials and distresses. He is not here deploring the readiness of the brethren to exercise their gifts by way of prophesying, a complaint afterwards brought against them, nor do we find anything in Governor Bradford's writings which tends to such an accusation. In his dialogue on this and similar subjects, he sets forth Mr. Robinson's opinion, as also Mr. Cotton's, concerning this exercise of gifts in prophesying, of which Mr. Bradford himself says,

"if any out of weakness have abused at any time their liberty, it is their personal faulting, as sometimes weak ministers may their office, and yet the ordinance good and lawful."

Robinson was of opinion that, "it comes within the province of but few of a multitude, haply two or three in a church, to prophesy publicly; and touching prophecy, we think, in all churches, whether but springing up or grown to some ripeness, let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul's institution. Into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted, not only the ministers, but the teachers too, yea, also of the elders and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, which are willing to confer their gift received of God to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed by the judgment of the ministers and others."

Now, if these opinions and rules, which Robinson adopts from the Synod of Embden in 1571, were observed by the Plymouth Church in Governor Bradford's time, it is rather difficult to see how there can be much truth in the report which Cotton Mather admits into the Magnalia, that about the time of Bradford's death "religion itself had like to have died out of the colony, through the strange disposition to discountenance the gospel ministry, by setting up the gifts of private brethren in opposition thereunto." There must be great exaggeration in this report, or we should have learned something of it from Governor Bradford himself. Cotton Mather says that the good people were in extreme distress from the prospect which this matter gave them, and cured the evil by the election of Mr. Prince to the place of Governor, from which time the adverse party sank into confusion. But nothing of this seems to have troubled the serene and prosperous course of the closing years of Gov. Bradford's life.

It is truly and beautifully said by Cotton Mather, that the crown of all excellences in this admirable man was

his holy, prayerful, watchful, and fruitful walk with God. His death was just such, in heavenly joy and triumph, as his life of grace, hid with Christ in God, had predicted. He had been declining through the winter of 1657, yet not in what he counted sickness, until just three days before God took him to his everlasting rest. The first of those days the Angel of the Covenant seemed to give him warning that his hour was near; and that night, "the God of Heaven so filled his mind with ineffable consolations, that he seemed little short of Paul, wrapt up into the unutterable entertainments of Paradise." His joy must have been great, yea, ravishing, for he said to his dear friends in the morning, that the good Spirit of the Lord had given him a pledge of his happiness in another world, and the first fruits of his eternal glory. That night's blissful experience alone was to him worth all the years of toil and pain he had endured in the great work his Lord had permitted him to accomplish. For, what were all the days and nights, the weeks and months of cold and hunger, of peril, anxiety, pain, and famine, passed through in the early years of that great service, compared with the celestial revelations and assurances of that one night! He died, May 9, 1657, in the 69th year of his age.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND SABBATH.

From the highest point amidst the scenery that overlooks the Rock of our Forefathers' first permanent landing, and includes so many points now of the deepest interest, we have looked abroad over the Harbor, the Islands, and the Sea. By the providence of God these Pilgrims stopped at Plymouth. This rock, then washed by the flowing tide, and surmounted above by the primitive forest, was their first landing place. Their first landing place, indeed, for the purpose of a habitation and a grave, upon this rock-bound coast, but not the first spot hallowed by the freedom and the sacredness of their religious worship. No! There is a spot here, within the sweep of your eye in this beautiful scene, more sacred than this. As you follow the horizon, you see there, towards the north-east, where the land breaks the sea view, and where the central peninsula in the harbor almost seems to join the main land on the other side, a green and partly wooded island. It seems to you, perhaps, to be the continent, but it is an island. It is the spot of all places in North or South America to my mind the most hallowed. It is the island where the fatigued, desolate, almost perishing Pilgrims spent their first Sabbath. Yes! there they stopped and rested the seventh day, and hallowed it, because they would not desecrate it, even in

seeking rest. O noble commencement of the foundations of an enterprise, like which the world never saw, nor probably will again see, ever! Within half an hour's sail of the coast, nay, within ten minutes' sail, if the wind and tide favored, of the place where they were to abide all the rest of their pilgrimage, they moored at the island, and would not again set a sail that day, or take an oar in hand, or do aught of worldly work, because it was the Lord's Day. And there, upon that desolate island, frost-bound, habitationless, beneath a snowy sky, or, what was worse, a freezing sleet, they dedicated the hours of the Sabbath to the worship of God! There is no spot in all this scene, on which the vision rests with so solemn and thrilling an interest as that.

And what a remarkable manifestation of character it was, what a proof of supreme regard to God, and belief in his word, and obedience to it! Might they not have reasoned that the work of seeking shelter, in which they were then engaged, was a work of necessity and mercy, that the season of winter was already far advancing, that every day was precious, and that one day's delay might be productive of great evil? Might they not have argued that here, where none but God beheld them, God who knew their hearts, and knew that they were laboring for him, and who had said that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, they might relax for once their strictness, and continue their course, more especially as there were none to be affected by their example? How many a descendant of the Pilgrims, under the pressure of a much less necessity, has put the claims of conscience beneath those of expediency, and made the demands of God's institution to wait upon man's convenience! None to be affected by their example? And what one movement or act of those Pilgrims, or sentiment, or opinion, or coloring of life, that will not exert an influence to the latest generation? It might be said that the guardian genius of the after age was

watching them; and in acting conscientiously and faithfully towards God, they acted safely, wisely, righteously towards man. They so acted in this matter of keeping the Sabbath, that a world might imitate them. That day, kept for God on that island, has sent down a blessing for all the posterity of the Pilgrims—those costly prayers and praises—a preserving, sustaining influence throughout New England, to make the descendants of the Pilgrims a Sabbath-keeping people; and none but a Sabbath-keeping people can be truly free.

There was a time when these men on that desolate island, had they stayed in Europe, and attempted to keep such a Sabbath in the country of their birth, would perhaps have been thrown into prison for not observing the rubrics of the Book of Sports, for not giving to the service of Satan the time which God claimed for his service. This Sabbath was the beginning of their perfect freedom from bondage. How beautiful the island looks this day, in this warm light, beneath an atmosphere of such enchanting clearness, rising so green in the mantle of August from the sea! It was a different sight and a different abode to them, in the month of December, wet, cold, icy, and shelterless. Yet there they stood; there they praised God; there arose to heaven from New England's soil the first Sabbath hymn of praise and the first united prayer of faith, from child-like, patient, submissive hearts, from men in resolution and endurance, children in faith and obedience.

> Amidst the storm they sang,
> And the stars heard, and the sea!
> And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
> To the anthem of the free!

This beautiful painting is not that of mere imagination. The place of that first religious meeting on New England soil looks now entirely destitute of trees, but the Pilgrims' Journal tells us that then this Island was thickly covered

with woods, as indeed the whole shores of Plymouth harbor seem to have been wooded, down to the brink of the sea, save where the Indians had made clearings for cornfields. There then, the dim and icicled woods did indeed ring to the anthems of the free; for they surely had a heart to sing as well as pray; and God had brought them, in the past day's course, through a great discipline, not only of peril and prayers, but of deliverance and thanksgiving. Yet they rejoiced with trembling.

That Island is a very sacred spot. We would put a monument there, sooner than on Bunker Hill; a monument to God, to the Sabbath, to the faith of the Pilgrims, to the hidden life of social, civil, and religious freedom, of which the Sabbath is the safeguard. A monument there, where spiritually the first battle was fought, and the first victory was gained, on this North Western Continent, against the powers of darkness, against spiritual wickedness, in the high places of earth and of the soul.

Verily, if we may suppose the Enemy of God and man looking on and watching that movement, that Sabbath's work, that Sabbath's reverent and submissive stillness, and prayer, and praise (and why may we not? for not alone in civilized Europe was the god of this world supreme and busy, but here, from one end of the continent to the other, in savage rites he had his worship); if we may suppose the Enemy of mankind gazing when that island was first trodden by the Pilgrim feet, awe-stricken would he and his hosts have beheld the solemn employments of that day! It was a most wonderful consecration of all New England to God, this religious keeping of the first Sabbath day spent upon its shores, amidst such storm, such fear, such heart-chilling cold, and frightful desolation. We should like to see a granite monument on that island, and the words inscribed on it, The First Sabbath of the Pilgrims. We say again, a greater battle was fought and gained there than that on Bunker Hill, and a foundation of

spiritual freedom was laid there, without which that last battle for civil liberty never had been fought, nor the institutions of freedom in this country established. That Sabbath contained the prediction and assurance of success to the infant colony. It was God who kept the Pilgrims, through their Sabbath-keeping piety. They may sneer who please, at the strictness of the Puritan Sabbath. Should its spirit die out of our land, there might be Romish superstition, and French fickleness and infidelity, and American slavery and political corruption remaining, but the old-fashioned social, civil, and religious virtue and happiness of New England would be no more.

Let us count the first Sabbaths of the Pilgrims up to the foundation of their first local Sanctuary for the worship of God;—let us count their weeks by Sabbaths. By the dates in their own Journal we learn that it was not till Thursday, the ninth of November, 1620, that they made land, after their long voyage of sixty-four days from Plymouth in the old world. This land, first made, was Cape Cod. They were purposing to make their course some thirty miles south of the Cape, but were constrained by contrary winds to enter Cape Cod Bay, where they anchored on Saturday, the eleventh of November, the day in which they signed their compact. The next day, Sunday, the twelfth, was spent on board ship. The Sabbath of the 19th on board ship in like manner, after the return of their first exploring expedition on foot. The Sabbath of the 26th passed in like manner on board the May Flower, after the week's work in repairing the shallop. Monday, the 27th, another exploring expedition was undertaken with thirty-four men. The next Sabbath, the third of December, found the Pilgrim congregation still assembled, after this expedition, in their only house and church thus far, the ship at anchor. Wednesday, the 6th of December, they set out on the final exploring enterprise, which issued in their landing upon Plymouth Rock. The next

Sabbath of the 10th, was that spent upon the Island, the first upon New England soil, truly the first New England Sabbath.

The next day, Monday, the 11th, they made their first landing in Plymouth harbor, and resolved that there was the situation where they had best fix their abode, and plant the Pilgrim Colony. This Monday, the 11th of December, Old Style, answers to the 22d of December, New Style, and so the 22d is the day celebrated as Forefathers' day. It is marked in the Journal of the Pilgrims with only one sentence, and with the most complete absence of all consciousness, or even dreaming imagination, that they had then taken the step, and were noting down the date, upon which would be concentrated the interest, not merely historical or curious, but devout and prayerful, of generations to come. "So we returned," say they, "to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." It was perhaps the very next day, at any rate the 15th, that the May Flower with the whole company of families weighed anchor and set sail for Plymouth harbor, where they arrived the next day, which was Saturday, the 16th. The next day, the Sabbath of the 17th, seems to have been the last spent on board ship; for on Saturday, the 23d, which was as soon as the severe weather would permit, "as many as could went on shore, felled and carried timber," and began to provide themselves stuff for building; and the Sabbath of the 24th, answering to our first or second Sabbath in January, was celebrated both on shore and in the ship.

It is interesting, in the highest degree, to a devout mind, thus religiously to follow the footsteps of the Pilgrims. "I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them." "Hallow my Sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God." If the Sabbaths be spent prayer-

fully, so will be the week days. The incidental notices of devout exercises, morning and evening, in the midst of the hurry, peril, fatigue, cold, hunger, and conflict of these expeditions, are very striking; the more so, as occurring in a brief sketch, and though only once or twice set down, yet noted in such a manner as to indicate a habit, a fixture of daily duty. Thus, the journal of one of their most perilous days, the day in which they had their first conflict with the Indians, and afterwards the loss of the mast of their shallop with imminent hazard of shipwreck, begins thus: "About five o'clock in the morning we began to be stirring. *After prayer* we prepared ourselves for breakfast and for a journey, it being now the twilight in the morning." The sun was up, in such souls, and God was with them, as speedily they found, when the savage *war-whoop* of their enemies, that day for the first time heard, was yelling around them, and their arrows flying in the air. "By the especial Providence of God," says the journal, in a vivid account of their battle, "none of them were hit or hurt." "So, after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop and went on our journey, and called this place *The First Encounter*."

In the same devout manner opens the record of the day of their final decision to plant themselves where they had first landed at Plymouth Rock. "So in the morning, *after we had called on God for direction*, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again," &c. Never before, in the history of the world, were the foundations of an Empire so laid. Every step was taken, consulting and imploring the divine guidance. There is no display of this; we have no diary of the *soul-exercises* of these Pilgrims; but the traces of their heartfelt piety run through this little journal like fragrant water-courses. And you see that it is a *cheerful, grateful* piety; there is no gloom about it, even in the midst of the most darkening and discouraging calamities. As in the heart of the first conflict with the

savages, their watch-word seems continually to be "well, well, every one, and be of good courage." They neither conceal nor display the great trials they endured, but speak of them in calm and simple language, setting a mark upon God's kind interpositions, and enduring their greatest perils and hardships as things ordinary in so great and difficult an enterprise. "And sure it was God's good Providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done." So sweetly and confidently did they hail the finger of God's loving Providence; and at other times quietly endured fatigues which were to lay them in their graves ere the first New England spring should open, making the simple record of one of their fearful nights without shelter, in these words; "it blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withall; some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here."

Certainly, one great secret of their patient endurance of almost unparalleled hardships was the confidence that they were bearing them for God. No mere human aim or expectation would have carried them through such complications of disaster, and sometimes through the seeming utter wreck of all their prospects; because, humanly speaking, there was nothing to justify any anticipation of success. Their object was not the gain of merchant adventurers; it was the advancement of religion. Whether we put the aspect of a missionary enterprise foremost in their undertaking, or the enjoyment of God's grace and worship freely in their own souls and families, makes little difference; the broadest, truest shape that can be given to the Pilgrimage of our Puritan Fathers, the most accurate matter of fact description of it, is that of an extraordinary enterprise for the advancement of religion. In the little volume of the journal we meet again and again with the declaration and the proof of this reality. The editor of the volume declares in 1621 to the reader that "the desire

of carrying the gospel of Christ into these foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge nor taste of God, as also to procure unto themselves and others a quiet and comfortable habitation, were amongst other things the inducements unto the undertakers of the enterprise." And the compact on board the May Flower opens with the assurance and continues for the furtherance, of their great undertaking "*for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith*, and honor of their king and country, to plant the first colony." And the schedule of reasons and considerations for their colonizing, given at the close of the same volume of the journal in 1621, reads thus: "seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary means and course for us to take to convert them, or whether prayer for them be only referred to God's extraordinary work from heaven. Now it seemeth unto me that we ought also to endeavour and use the means to convert them; and the means cannot be used, unless we go to them or they come to us. To us they cannot come; our land is full. To them we may go, their land is empty."

Now to these proofs let there be added Gov. Bradford's declaration among the reasons of the Pilgrims for leaving the Old World, of "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping stones unto others for performing of so great a work."

Hutchinson might well say in his History of Massachusetts, "whether Britain would have had any colonies in America, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful." Every attempt to plant settlements in New England from ordinary and secular motives had failed. God would have one spot in the world peopled from a

sense of duty, and a supreme regard, not to pounds and shillings, but to his glory. He would have one spot where a race should reside, whose fear towards God should *not* be taught by the precept of man; that mean, craven, slavish tetter of iniquity and bigotry, with which, just then, almost the whole world was crusted.

One of their reasons for breaking out from that crust was that they might keep God's Sabbath, not man's, and keep it through the fear of God, not by the precept of man, either in books of sports or ceremonial rubrics. The Sabbath was sadly and generally profaned in Holland, while they dwelt, and the inefficacy of all their efforts to stop that profanation, with the pernicious effect of such examples upon their children, were strong inducements moving them to the determination of a settlement in the New World. Mr. Winslow details, among other considerations impelling them to that step, the painful discovery "how little good we did, or were like to do, to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath, how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received." With such convictions and such motives, amidst all these estrangements from the comforts and privileges of their native, and afterwards adopted land, how powerfully and sustainingly would some of the promises of God come to their case and meet their souls! "If thou turn away the foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my Holy Day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the Holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob, thy Father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Surely, they would say, when this promise as a flame of fire shone before them, though Abraham be ignorant of us,

and Israel acknowledge us not, yet will God fulfil unto us this covenant. "And the sons of the stranger that join themselves to the Lord to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant, even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND MEETING-HOUSE.

Joyful in my House of Prayer! In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee! And in his Living Temple God records his name; and where two or three are gathered in that name, there is his House of Prayer. What a marvellous transfiguration from the local into the universal, from the earthly and formal into the spiritual, from altars into hearts, took place when He came, in whom types and shadows, vails and engravings in stone, and the places and the ceremonies of priestly authority and sanctity, were done away, and the ministration of the Spirit for the glory of the Lord was set open in renewed hearts, changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord!

In four verses in the New Testament, the power passes from the Temple and the Priesthood, and is enshrined wherever there are humble, believing, praying souls, be it in Cathedrals or Conventicles, in large upper rooms in Judea beset by spies and persecutors of Church and State, or in the cottages and hiding places of the Pilgrims in England, for whom the prison and the scaffold were prepared and destined; or in their log houses in the wilderness, where, as free as the birds of the air, regardless of human interdictions, they could worship God.

"Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

How beautiful, how solemn, how glorious, how simple is this designation! Spirit and Truth, that is God's Temple, that is God's House of Prayer, and the proofs of a place in it, the presence of living worshippers, are the epistles of Christ, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart. Such was the first sanctuary in 1620 in New England. The groves there were God's first external temples, under the roof of Heaven. By their watch-fires on the land, and in their open shallop on the sea, our Fathers worshipped; and in the cabin of the May Flower, and in all their perilous expeditions, before yet the foundation of a hut was laid. It was not the temple first, the consecrated temple, and the heart afterwards, but the heart first and the temple afterwards.

We love that old-fashioned, Pilgrim, New-England designation of the Meeting-house. It seems to carry us back to a time, when to have a meeting of any kind, was to worship God; where the people were all Christians, and their meetings for devotion were so much the habit, the joy, and the main business of life, as to Christianize even the generic idea of a public assembly. The Sabbath meetings of our fathers began in the first dwelling-house; where the first household prayer ascended to God, there also did the colonists gather for their Sabbath and social services. Just so, of a long time, did Christ's early churches gather together and worship in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Ephesus,

in Corinth ; and *the church that is in thy house* became one of the designations, local and formal, of primitive Christianity.

But at length there was a structure of special service and appointment, as God's House of Prayer. That first house for the Pilgrims was but a rude tabernacle in the wilderness ; yet it had a beauty and a glory such as the grandest temple since erected in all this land possesses not. It was God's pavilion for his people, yet it had nothing of a temple save the heavenly purposes to which, on the Lord's Day, it was devoted. For as God meant that they should come to this country unsanctioned, unconsecrated, untolerated, unaccepted, unacknowledged, yea despised as a church ; unconstituted either by King, or Priest, or Prelate, and flung forth from a human establishment to God's uncovenanted mercies in the wilderness, uncovenanted of man but chosen of God ; so he meant that they should worship in a Temple, desecrated by no mere self-willed human consecration ; a conventicle, a garrison, not *set apart* for the sacredness, but *used* for the convenience and security of the holy duties of Divine Worship ; duties that make the house beautiful and sacred, and not the house the duties.

God led *them* into it, and not they God ; it was God's choice *for* them, not theirs for God ; and here, in the following record, is the account of the ceremonies of its construction and dedication, under date of July, 1622.

"This summer we build a Timber Fort, both strong and comely, with flat roof and battlements ; on which ordnance are mounted, a watch kept, and it also *serves as a place of public worship*."

In Old England, under the Establishment, with an Archbishop's consecration, this would have been a place of public worship, *serving as a Fort*, bristling with Bancroft's cannon, and with the ceremonies, ordinances, commandments, and doctrines of men.

In New England it was simply the Pilgrims' first Meeting-House, where by God's mercy they could say, Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear. In Old England it would have been God's house, devoted to man's purposes; in New England it was man's house, devoted to God's purposes. "One thing have I desired of the Lord, said the Pilgrims, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple." And who can tell the unspeakable delight with which they must have enjoyed that uninterrupted communion with God, according to the rule of his Word, for which they had fled into this savage wilderness, where God's house was not only a place of spiritual freedom, but a pavilion of defence against the heathen! "We have thought of thy loving kindness," said they, "O God, in the midst of thy temple. Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generations following. For this God is our God for ever and ever; he will be our guide even unto death."

Here they could taste of the river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God. Here that sacred stream, the Word of God, from which they had been driven with penal inflictions, glided gently for their undisturbed enjoyment, and watered their divine abode. Here, though convulsions shook the solid world, they had nothing to fear. The heathen might rage, and the kingdoms be moved, but now they could say, The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. They could raise Luther's psalm:

> O Lord of Hosts, Almighty King!
> While we so near thy presence dwell,
> Our faith shall sit secure and sing
> Defiance to the gates of hell.

And it was a great triumph of God's providence and

grace, a wonderful scene amidst the almost unbroken wilderness of the whole Northern Continent of America, to behold this handful of his children, beginning their service of public as well as secret piety, and with such exceeding, though quiet and solemn joy, laying the foundations of many generations. Already they felt that the order of God's house was beautiful, and though rude in circumstance, yet in its simple spirituality, full of power.

Let strangers walk around
The city where we dwell,
Compass and view the holy ground,
And mark the building well;

The order of thy house,
The worship of thy court,
The cheerful songs, the solemn vows,
And make a fair report.

How decent and how wise!
How glorious to behold!
Beyond the pomp that charms the eyes,
And rites adorned with gold.

Let us enter with the congregation there, on a day like some of our sacred days in August, a Sabbath combining the softness of summer with the clearness and brilliancy of autumn in the frosty October. Standing here alone, in the still solemnity of noon upon this Hill of Graves, and looking abroad upon the harbor and the islands, so beautiful at high tide, it is not difficult to go back in imagination to the days of our Pilgrim Fathers, and to stand with them amidst the changing scenes of their labors. Changing they were, even then, beneath the hand of that scant industry, the very first year, when half the Colony died, and there were but nineteen men to build houses and defend them, and to clear and plant their land. But now how changed! That one street of seven rude dwellings, like

a prophecy in hieroglyphics upon a blank scroll, between which and this Burial Hill there was a wide untrodden space, as also below, down to the water's edge, has spread into a network of streets and buildings, winding and crossing all around the base of this sacred mount, which itself would perhaps have been also covered with residences, had not its sacredness as the enclosure of the dead forbidden. But the growth of this place is mere nothing in comparison with that of many other towns and cities in our country, where the wave of each successive generation obliterates all traces of the past, and fierce remorseless progress permits men only to compare themselves with the future, never looking back, and hearing only the one voice of Destiny, Clear the Way! Glad we are that *present* Plymouth is an *old* town and no bigger, for here imagination is not so oppressed and looked out of countenance by reality, but that it *can* go back two hundred years, and see things as when our fathers landed. The houses disappear, and the dim woods and cornfields take their places, and we can see the solitary May Flower at anchor, and the Pilgrims on shore cutting and carrying timber, marking out their lots, thatching their houses, impaling this Hill, under which their little settlement is seated, and making bulwarks or jetties whence they can defend their dwellings, by day and by night keeping watch and ward against the Indians.

This Sabbath morning—let it be October, or the beginning of November, instead of August,—the smoke rises early and peaceful on the clear frosty air, from the single line of dwellings. There is no busy stir in or about the little settlement, as on the week days. Almost the first sign of life that you behold, except the tell-tale smoke from the thatched roofs, is the winding of the Pilgrims up the path that leads from their dwellings to the Fort upon the Hill, where they hold their worship. There goes their venerated Elder, William Brewster, a Pilgrim older than all the rest, already beyond the three score years of our

earthly pilgrimage, but active and cheerful ; "a good man and full of the Holy Ghost, and much people were added to the Lord." Yea, he is the Barnabas of this little church and colony.

So the congregation gather into this log-fort, and begin to praise God. They are but a very little handful, enough for a social prayer meeting ; and some have to remain in the dwellings, to tend the sick, and watch against surprisal from the Indians ; others are on guard also at the Fort with muskets, watching as sentinels, while all watch and pray. If the naked children of the forest are watching also, with bow and arrow, they hear sweet and solemn music this morning, and it is one of God's means to keep them in awe, and defend his people from them. The whole congregation sing, and the hymn rises as from one heart, with the sweetness of the unison of all voices. Our Pilgrim Fathers were good singers. We have the testimony of Mr. Winslow to this point. When they were embarking from Leyden he says, "We refreshed ourselves with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music ; and indeed it was the sweetest music that mine ears ever heard." It was congregational singing, and so was it at each Sabbath's worship in this timber-fort in the wilderness. It were well if our congregations in modern time would follow this delightful pilgrim and scriptural habit of expertness in music.

The song ended, they unite in prayer. Mr. Brewster was a gifted man in this sacred exercise, especially in the humble confession of sin, and pleading for pardon. He was not long in prayer, but frequent ; and he set the heart and conscience at work, as in Paul's expression, *laboring earnestly* in prayer. He prayed fervently, with and for the people, and they with and for him. They came to God in great want, and prayed for great blessings.

And then with equal power and beauty, under the guid-

ing of the Saviour, he opened unto them the Scriptures, and applied both the law and the promises, being plain and distinct, as well as affectionately stirring and moving in his teachings. Powerfully and profitably he taught, twice every Sabbath, to the great contentment of the hearers, and to their comfortable edification. This he continued to do, till the Church had another minister, and many were brought to God by his ministry. "Yea, he did more in their behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives." He was a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the Gospel's sake, and so doing and suffering, God upheld him to a great age, and kept him actively useful to the last.

From the enjoyment of his ministrations, and of God's Spirit in them, they would go down to their dwellings with renewed hope and faith and courage to bear the exceeding trials of the week. Though their outward man was weak and wasting, yet the inward was renewed day by day, and perhaps the darker and gloomier it grew externally, the brighter was all within. Mr. Brewster loved to dwell upon God's promises, and to show his faithfulness and loving kindness in all the severe discipline they were passing through. He preached that winter in the midst of sickness, fears, and deaths, and the next in the midst of a wasting famine. And his own confidence in God, and his cheerful endurance of personal suffering, did much to keep up the spirits of his fainting flock. He would address them almost in the words of Baxter:

Why art thou, fainting soul, cast down?
And thus disquieted with fears?
Art thou not passing to thy crown,
Through storms of pain and floods of tears?
Fear not, O thou of little faith!
Art thou not in thy Saviour's hand?
Remember what his promise saith,
For life and death are his command.

To Him thou did'st thyself intrust,
When first thou did'st for Heaven embark,
And He hath proved both kind and just;
Still thou art with Him in his ark.
Could'st thou expect to see no seas?
Nor feel no tossing wind or wave?
It is enough that from all these
Thy faithful pilot thee will save.

Thy Lord hath taught thee how to want
A place wherein to put thy head;
While He is thine, be thou content
To beg or lack thy daily bread.
Heaven is thy roof, earth is thy floor;
His love can keep thee dry and warm:
Christ and His bounty are thy store;
His angels guard thee from all harm.

These simple lines, the language of Baxter's heart and experience, must have been the tenor of many a sermon, many a consoling exhortation from the beloved and venerated Elder of the Pilgrims.

It is one thing to express the thoughts and aspirations of Christian faith, hope, and love in poetry, and a very different thing to possess and act them out amidst the pressure of severe suffering. The Pilgrims exercised with marvellous cheerfulness the Christian graces of patience, perseverance, and unshaken trust in God, amidst circumstances that had nothing of the romantic, nothing of the imaginative in them; nothing to give a fictitious power of interest to the work in which they were engaged. To our minds at this day, every circumstance is full of interest; there is no want of the romantic, the imaginative, even in external things; and in the moral, the spiritual, how transcendently sublime and beautiful! But they themselves were alone, forlorn, the outcasts of the world, counted in high places as the off-scouring of all things, and in the place of their own high duty, pressed down, for months together, into a daily drudgery of toil for the support of this mortal life, wasting,

dying. Put the glory where it belongs; it was a remarkable scene of the grace of God; they endured, as seeing Him who is invisible.

From their Mount of God's sanctuary, their Timber-Fort of Sabbath prayer and praise, where they dwelt upon the promises, and held communion with the world unseen and eternal, they went down, thoughtful, sad, yet comforted, resigned, and trustful, to their rude and insufficient dwellings, to the labors of the week, to the tending of the sick, to the burial of the dead, and the toils of the living; *always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in their mortal body.* Yea, they could have said, speaking to future generations, We which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, and death worketh us, that life may work in you.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST DEATHS AND BURIALS.

The first winter with the Pilgrim colony was a period of fatigue, anxiety, sickness, sadness, and death. There is but little notice of these distresses in the earliest Journal of the Pilgrims, and it is somewhat singular that the deaths of that winter among their small number are not named. The omission must have been for some particular reason. Perhaps, as they were to send this Journal for publication in England, and the first impressions in regard to the colony would be made upon many minds by its perusal, they dared not let the pressure of calamity and the ravages of disease be seen too clearly. They did not repine at God's discipline for themselves; they trusted in God, although he should slay them; their submissive, cheerful faith was undiminished by their trials; but they could not in the same way trust in man, and they had reason to be afraid of the gloomy interpretation of God's providences by those who knew not the secret of the Lord, nor the glory and faithfulness of his covenant. Yet could they see and feel, in the assurance of God's presence,

> "It is no death when souls depart,
> If Thou depart not from the soul."

Six of their little company had died in December, the second month after their arrival. The last of them, Solomon Martin, died upon the Sabbath of the 24th, but though the Journal makes mention of an alarm on shore from the cry of savages, it says nothing of this visit of death, nor of the deepening gloom of the people. December 7th, the beloved wife of Mr. Bradford was drowned, while her husband had gone with several other of the Pilgrims on the exploring expedition for the discovery of their place of settlement. Although the Journal makes mention of the comfort which their return brought to the hearts of the little company, it says nothing of this melancholy death, nor of the suddenness of the calamity to Bradford. The record was found in Governor Bradford's pocket-book, which contained a register of deaths from Nov. 6th, 1620, to the end of March, 1621. This register was among Mr. Prince's MSS.

The first day of the year 1621, Monday, was marked by the death of one of their number. The next Monday, Jan. 8th, another was taken, Mr. Christopher Martin. No mention is made of his death in the Journal, though there is of his sickness, in the following record: "Saturday, the sixth of January, Master Marten was very sicke, and to our judgment no hope of life, so Master Carver was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts, who came the next morning."

Mr. Carver was one of the deacons of the church in Leyden, and the circumstance of sending for him in Martin's illness, doubtless to minister that help and consolation in a dying hour, which would have been the sacred duty of their beloved pastor Robinson, had he been with them, shows in some degree the nature of the deacon's office in that church, as involving a participation in the pastor's spiritual responsibilities. Their elder, William Brewster, was with the dying man; but Master Carver is marked as sent for. It is not probable that the phrase "*to speak with*

him about his accounts," is any other than a somewhat quaint method of intimating a preparation for the accounts of the great day.

Monday the 29th there was another sad visit of death, of which no note is recorded in the Journal, neither of any funeral, but the business of the week goes on, the weather being cold, frost, and sleet, and amidst the sickness and mortality now increasing, the hearts of the survivors must have been bowed down with grief. Sad were those committals to the grave; perhaps some of them by night, because of the Indians, who were watching the weakness of the infant colony. Eight had died this month; and of this last death in January, the following simple record is copied by Mr. Prince from Governor Bradford's register: —"Jan. 29, Dies Rose, the wife of Capt. Standish."

Rose, the wife of Captain Standish! That is all; but what a volume in that! Governor Bradford's Register, that winter, was like a book of sad engravings from a forest of tomb-stones. The name of his own dear wife he inscribed among the earliest; and still, one after another departs, and now his pen has to trace the simple, sad record, *dies Rose, the wife of Captain Standish.* The soldier's courage, we venture to say, ever after that, had in it a sadder and a wiser energy, more of the Christian, and less of the mere man. Standish was a man of frank, loving, noble qualities, but brave and daring, even to rashness; and He whose Providence as well as Grace was now so severely refining and tempering the whole Colony, knew how to subdue the natural impetuosity of his disposition, till it should be governed by a heavenly control. Rose Standish! The only relic of the wife and mother, that we know of, is that piece of needle-work by the daughter, preserved among the curiosities in Pilgrim Hall.

And now the most vigorous of the Pilgrims, and the foremost in all dangers and hardships, in addition to every external toil and privation, bore about with them, one

after another, the griefs of these severe personal bereavements. The 21st of February, four deaths are recorded, one of them that of Mr. William White, whose wife afterwards married Governor Winslow. "And the 25th dies Mary, the wife of Mr. Isaac Allerton." Seventeen died in February.

The Journal of the Pilgrims ends with Friday, the 23d of March, on which day, the record closes with the choice of "our Governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us." The mortality of the Winter was still going on, and the next day, Saturday, the 24th, died Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Edward Winslow. Nineteen died in March. "And in three months past," as we find in Prince's Chronological History, from Gov. Bradford, "dies half our company; the greatest part, in the depths of Winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy, and other diseases, which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition brought upon them; so as there die sometimes two or three a day. Of one hundred persons, scarce fifty remain: the living scarce able to bury the dead, the well not sufficient to tend the sick; there being in their time of greatest distress, but six or seven, who spare no pains to help them. Two of the seven were Mr. Brewster, their Reverend Elder, and Mr. Standish, their Captain."

This is a simple, but sad and vivid picture; and yet the most afflictive providence of all was before them, in the next month, although now it pleased God that the mortality should begin to cease, and the sick and lame recover. For, April 5th, after mention of the May Flower sailing for England, and their busy work in planting for the harvest, we find from Gov. Bradford the following sorrowful register.

"While we are busy about our seed, our Governor, Mr. Carver, comes out of the field very sick, complains greatly of his head, within a few hours his senses fail, so as he

speaks no more, and in a few days after dies, to our great lamentation and heaviness. His care and pains were so great for the common good, as therewith 'tis thought he oppressed himself, and shortened his days; of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complain; and his wife deceases about five or six weeks after."

Now the simple record of these deaths is more expressive than anything else can be, of the depths of trial passed through, in such patient, submissive, and even cheerful endurance, by our Pilgrim Fathers, during the first dread winter of their settlement. The language of Mr. Prince, though he wrote only as a severely accurate Chronologist, is as strikingly eloquent as anything that has ever been penned. "Wherever they turn their eyes, nothing but distress surrounds them. Harassed for their scripture worship in their native land, grieved for the profanation of the holy Sabbath, and other licentiousness, in Holland, fatigued with their boisterous voyage, disappointed of their expected country, forced on this Northern shore, both utterly unknown, and in advance of winter; none but prejudiced barbarians round about them, and without any prospect of human succor; without the help or favor of the Court of England, without a patent, without a public promise of their religious liberties; worn out with toil and sufferings, without convenient shelter from the rigorous weather; and their hardships bringing a general sickness on them, which reduces them to great extremities, bereaves them of their dearest friends, and leaves many of the children orphans. Within five months' time above half their company are carried off, whom they account as dying in this noble cause, whose memories they consecrate to the dear esteem of their successors, and bear all with a Christian fortitude and patience as extraordinary as their trials."

But there is little or no mention of these things as trials, in the earliest personal Journal of the Pilgrims; so little, that it is almost unaccountable. With what severity of

patience, yet unrepining cheerfulness, they bore onward in God's path, marked out for them! Although the cases of death are so seldom, if ever, referred to in the Journal, yet we see here and there the causes of that winter's mortality, plain enough. We see records of voyages in open boats, in cold and bitter weather, with the salt sea freezing on their clothes, and making them like coats of iron. We see the accounts of days and nights on shore, in weariness and faintness without food, in tempestuous rain and sleet without shelter. We see them sometimes wading through the icy-cold mud-flats in the harbors, sometimes through the snow upon the land. Now and then the record of a short period falls thus: "It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withall; some of our people that are dead took the original of their death here." We find at an earlier period that by reason of their "cold and wet lodgings," in severe weather, "scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs." Amidst the hectic and pain of these coughs, growing into consumptions, they went about their work. The repairing of their shallop was the beginning of disease with many, when they had to work in mud and water. "The discommodiousness of the harbor did much hinder us, for we could neither go to nor come from the shore but at high water, which was much to our hindrance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to go and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure; but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds, the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy, whereof many died."

When they began to build, they measured the lots not so much by the future need of their families, as by their present inability to manage larger undertakings. "We thought their properties were large enough at the first, for houses, and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with

colds, for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths." That year, that first winter, they had to dig seven times as many graves for the dead, as they were building houses for the living. And they levelled and sowed their graves, Mr. Holmes in his Annals tells us, for the purpose of concealment, lest the Indians, counting the number of the dead, should know the weakness of the living. Those early graves, therefore, are lost from present knowledge, though the place of the first burials is well known, and is pointed out to the visitor, a little above Forefathers' Rock, in Plymouth.

We look back to the days of that dying, yet immortal colony, as the one heroic age in our country's history; and sublimely such it was; but to them, the actors, beneath what a thick impenetrable veil, sometimes of real misery in penury and starvation, and sometimes of darkness even to the end of life, was the glory and the sunlight hidden! And yet it was an age,—those few early years of the conflict and the triumph,—every hour of it, full of glorious germs and prophecies. It was truly an age and race to which, in the language of Mr. Choate, "the arts may go back, and find real historical forms and groups, wearing the port and grace, and going on the errands of demigods. An age far off, on whose moral landscape the poet's eye may light, and reproduce a grandeur and beauty, stately and eternal, transcending that of ocean in storm or at peace, or of mountains staying as with a charm the Evening Star in his deep course; or the twilight of a summer's day, or voice of solemn birds; an age from whose personages and whose actions the Orator may bring away an incident or a thought that shall kindle a fire in ten thousand hearts as on altars to their country's glory; to which the discouraged teachers of patriotism and morality to cor-

rupted and expiring states may resort, for examples how to live and how to die!"

By the good providence of God that winter was a mild one; otherwise none of the Pilgrims could have survived it. Their journal speaks of frequent rains, and sometimes of sleet and snow, but it is evident that they experienced no severe snow storm, nor any very great degree of cold of long duration. Yet some of their first explorings were made in such rainy and freezing weather united, that their clothes became "like coats of mail." The hectic flush of consumption was in the face of many that winter as they bent over their work, and the incurable death-cough sounded amidst their painful but persevering efforts for the preparation of dwellings, which before they were done should be exchanged for the grave. It was a winter of sad and increasing mortality, when every Pilgrim whom God took was so ill spared, and all were so dear; six deaths in December, eight in January, seventeen in February, thirteen in March, making in all forty-four, of whom twenty-one had subscribed the great compact on board the May Flower. Forty-four died in those four months out of the one hundred whom God had brought in that little vessel; brought the seed to sow for glory. But how inexplicable are his ways! How different from man's ways! We know indeed that except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone; we know that that death to self, which God was carrying on towards perfection in these Pilgrims, is ever the first step to life. But that God should take so much of this precious seed, thus preparing for the multiplication and power of the great spiritual harvest, and put it literally into the ground, not to be raised again until the final resurrection; that he should bury out of human sight and reach near one half of the little handful of his servants, carrying them across the stormy ocean, and into the midst of the first painful toils and discouragments of the Colony, just to bury them; this is inscrutable to mortal

judgment. Yet, though lost from sight, they were not lost in influence. Those bodies of the dear ones, laid in graves, that had to be smoothed over and made like common soil, lest the Indians should detect the place where God's seed-corn was lying, made still a great part of the moral power of the little Colony.

"The dead were buried on the bank," says Holmes in his American Annals, "at a little distance from the Rock where the Fathers landed; and lest the Indians should take advantage of the weak and wretched state of the English, the graves were levelled and sown for the purpose of concealment." They would have known by the dead how few were the living! But they could not have known how much dearer to the living was the home of the dead, nor what an element of courage and power it would have thrown into a conflict with the savages, to have fought for such graves. The spot where the first Governor Carver and his wife, with Rose Standish, were buried became immeasurably more sacred for such a sacred deposit. By the month of November as many as fifty had died and were buried there, leaving the whole surviving band, before the reinforcement came in the Fortune, only fifty. Notwithstanding all that mortality, with the sad privations and hardships the survivors had to endure and encounter, not one Pilgrim went back to England in the May Flower. The death of Governor Carver, so beloved, so respected, so confided in, so faithful, self-denying, and laborious, was a most depressing blow to the little colony. It seemed as if God could have spared that, but he knew better than they what was for their good and his glory.

Mr. Choate has beautifully put into the lips of the venerated Brewster, in a version of those days of graves, the language of the Pilgrim souls. "This spot, he would say, this line of shore, yea, this whole land grows dearer, daily, were it only for the precious dust which we have committed to its bosom. I would sleep here, when my

own hour comes; rather than elsewhere, with those who have shared with us in our exceeding labors, and whose burdens are now unloosed for ever. I would be near them in the last day, and have a part in their resurrection."

This spot of the first Pilgrim burials, so solemn, so sacred, is the first terrace or hill rising from the harbor, above the Rock of the Pilgrims' landing. The hill or terrace rose higher and more boldly at that time than it does now, but the Journal speaks of it as "a high land, where there is a great deal of ground cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook under the hill-side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk." A little above this first terrace where the earliest dead were laid, the Pilgrims set up their first habitations for the living; the centre and beginning of the town of Plymouth. Higher still above this rose another hill, the present grave-stone mount, of which we have at first spoken, all sown thickly over with graves and covered with monuments, but which the Pilgrims at first selected for their fort, because of its commanding position. They speak of it "as a great hill, on which we point to make a platform, and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see thence Cape Cod."

This place, called at first Fort Hill, afterwards changed its name to that of the Burying Hill, for it began to be used as the place of burial soon after the first year of the Pilgrims' settlement. In building the fort, they so constructed it as to make it serve also for the house of public worship, where they could calmly praise God, without fear of any sudden incursion from the savages. The foundations of the fort are still distinctly marked, but the last mention of it in the town records is in 1679, at the close of King Philip's war, when the defences were no longer needed. On this hill are the graves of several of the May

Flower Pilgrims, Gov. Bradford's among others, and that of John Howland and his wife Elizabeth. The grave of Thomas Clarke, the mate of the May Flower, is here. This is the place also of the grave of the last ruling elder of the first church in Plymouth, Mr. Thomas Faunce. He died not till the year 1745, in the 99th year of his age, and of course was long the living repository of the authentic unwritten traditions concerning the first generation of the Pilgrims. The great age to which those lived, who survived the dreadful trials of the first few years, is remarkable. John Alden, who came in the May Flower, died at the age of 89, in 1687, and one of his direct descendants, John Alden of Middleborough, died at the age of 102, in the year 1821. The wife of Governor Bradford died at the age of 80. Elder Brewster, John Howland and his wife Elizabeth, Elder Cushman and his wife Mary, were all from 80 to 90 years of age when they died. Thomas Clarke, the supposed mate of the May Flower, was 98. The grave stones over these Pilgrims, if you find them on Burying Hill, are not so old as their deaths; they are said to have been brought over from England, and in some cases were not put up till long after the graves of the whole generation were made.

From the midst of these graves you have, as we have seen, a great commanding view over the country and the sea. It is a place for deep meditation, not merely on the character and toils of those gone to their rest, but upon the wonderful Providence of God in the history and government of our race, in the progress of the great plan of redemption. Looking back to those days of toil and death in the planting of the colony, and abroad now also upon the face of the earth, it seems as if the whole history of mankind passed through those straits, as through a gate, or lock, into a new expansion. The influence of those days is even now at work in Europe, overturning thrones, and preparing for the great reign of righteousness and freedom

in Christ, which is to come. On the summit of the Burying Hill, the spectator will perhaps think of the missionary enterprise; for here lies the body of him, who as one of the Pilgrims bore testimony, that with the reasons which constrained them to quit their native land and seek a habitation among the heathen, was mingled the hope and design of spreading the Gospel where the tidings of salvation had never reached. Their mission, they thought, was with the Indians of this Western Continent; but how would they have adored the riches of God's Providence, could they have seen in vision the rising and increase of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, spreading its labors over the whole habitable globe! A missionary movement growing out of that infant colony of New England, and which perhaps God sees to be directly connected with the infant flame of missionary zeal which he had kindled in the souls of those Pilgrims.

In that flame of benevolence, that sense of duty to God, that supreme regard to his Will, Word, and Kingdom, that religious impulse of combined civil and religious freedom, missionary and personal, was the beginning of America. Carlyle has intimated as much, but not in the religious direction. And America was not only a New World, but, *ensouled* by the Pilgrims, was to make a New World out of the Old. The soul of it was in that *soul-seed* in the May Flower, sifted out of God's seed in three kingdoms. But nobody knew then what God was doing. Who knew, or thought, or cared for the sailing of that little vessel, and the landing and the toils of those poor men and their families? Aye! ye see your calling, brethren, if ye would be at the foundation of so great a work for God. Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; perhaps, in a given case, not one. God was just here choosing the foolish things of the world to confound the mighty, and base things of the world, and things despised, yea, and things that are not, to bring to naught

things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence. This is the beauty and the glory of this our Pilgrim ancestry, that the more minutely we trace it, the more directly it brings us to God, the more it throws us upon him, the more it forbids us to glory but in him. It shows his wonder-working Providence and grace, "deep in unfathomable mines of never-failing skill."

"Puritanism," says Thomas Carlyle, "was only despicable, laughable, then; but nobody can manage to laugh at it now. It is one of the strongest things under the sun at present." And how wonderfully its calm strength looms up now before the world, in contrast with the laboring, creaking, straining hulks of old dismasted despotisms, flying before the revolutionary gales of Europe to swift destruction. We should like to have had a man like Edmund Burke spared to behold this scene, and to describe the contrast. We should like to have had such a mind, touched with divine grace, to take a view of the Providence of God from the day of the sailing of the May Flower and the compact in Cape Cod Harbor, down to this present autumn of 1848. "Nothing in the history of mankind," said Burke in his speech upon the taxation of the colonies, "is like their progress. For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me rather ancient nations, grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many countries, than the colonies of yesterday, than a set of miserable outcasts, a few years ago not so much sent as thrown out on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness, three thousand miles from all civilized intercourse."

Now in fact it was this barrier of three thousand miles, across which the exiles were thus flung in scorn out of their native kingdom, that under God preserved them from the infection of vicious example, and the rapacious despot-

ism of a Church and State Establishment. If the ocean had not rolled between America and England, with the cost of a month's time, at least, to pass it, the experiment of liberty and religion had failed. Now that God in his Providence is so lessening time and space between us and Europe, we may hope, notwithstanding all dangers, that he is about to bring to some glorious crisis the great purposes of the vast Providential preparations he has been making for two hundred years.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST FAST DAY AND THANKSGIVING.

The festival of an Annual Thanksgiving, original among the Jews, and of God's own appointment, was never in like manner observed among any Gentile nation, that we are aware of, till our Pilgrim Fathers renewed it in New England. Days of feasting and merriment there have been many; Saints' days copied from the Romish Calendar, almost numberless; festivals of Christmas, and spring carnivals, and holidays; but nothing like the Thanksgiving feast of harvest for the annual bounties of God's providence, of which the grateful, joyful feast of Tabernacles among the Hebrews was so perfect and delightful an example. Yet not as an imitation did it grow up into a habit with our fathers; it was the suggestion and the dictate of their own habitual and grateful piety; and it is so accordant with every impulse of religion, and every feeling of a thankful heart, that from its home and birth-place in New England, the custom has at length found its way over the whole United States, a custom, we trust in God, which never will be broken.

We find in this volume the very first instance of the New England Thanksgiving. It is referred to by Mr. Winslow in his letter to a friend. It was after the gathering in of the harvest, and a fowling expedition was sent out

for the occasion by the Governor, that for their Thanksgiving dinners and for the festivities of the week they might have more dainty and abundant materials than ordinary. That week they exercised in arms, and hospitably feasted King Massasoit and ninety men. The Governor is said by Mr. Winslow to have appointed the game-hunt after harvest, that so thePilgrims "might after a more special manner rejoice together, after they had gathered the fruit of their labors." This admirable annual New England custom of Thanksgiving dates back therefore to the first year of our Forefathers' arrival. The custom of an annual fast began somewhat later, on occasion of the prospect of famine in the infant colony, in 1623. The discipline of God's providence, as well as the guidance of his word, led them onward in the appointment and celebration of both these solemnities, which they did not then know God was designing to be fixtures of devout habit from the youth to the manhood of New England. In all things they waited on God; and God built up all things with them and among them, not suddenly, violently, or by any imagination of a miracle; or by will-worship of angels after the commandments and doctrines of men; but gradually, gently, naturally, by grace and heavenly wisdom, in a growth which should be lasting, because it came from God.

Yes! the process was kind and gentle, though with apparent severity. And there were passages in God's word so singularly applicable to God's discipline and the event of it with them even from the beginning, that they must have enjoyed peculiar delight in dwelling upon them; for neither the church nor the world had ever seen a case so marvellously resembling God's providence and grace with his people of old under a miraculous dispensation. "And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers; and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying,

This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left. Then shall he give the rain of thy seed, that thou shalt sow the ground withal; and bread of the increase of the earth, and it shall be fat and plenteous; in that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures."

For a season they were shut up to the faith of Habakkuk, that simple faith, that beautiful and unmingled faith, that faith in God, and not in God's comforts; that faith in God, guided, fed, and strengthened by his word, and by no wild imagination. "Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls;—yet will I rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

There were such times, when they had to go to Isaiah l. 10, and wait there till God's appearance, seeing no light, but in his own provision for just such a case. "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Times there were, when they had to say, Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us: but if not, if he please not, be it known to the whole world of darkness and distrust around and beneath us, we still trust in him, and have no misgivings, though he slay us.

And then, when they were ready to say,—My strength and my hope is perished from the Lord, heard they the voice of the Lord, and found its fulfilment,—"For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with everlasting mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer." "For the Lord will not cast off for ever; but though he cause

grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies."

The history of their first Fast is a glorious testimony to the truth of these declarations in God's book. God planted the seed of that victorious day, that triumph of prayer, that day of God's own witness to his own faithfulness, at the time when they, in dependence on him, were putting their seed into the ground, and leaving there, under God's care, all their external reliance for the future. God set the root of conquest and praise in their disappointments and difficulties. Though he led them sometimes "three days in the wilderness without water," yet he kept them from murmuring; though he brought them sometimes to a fountain, and let them see that it was *Marah, bitterness*, yet his preventing grace suffered them not to distrust him or repine. He built up by all this discipline, a hardy and a cheerful piety, and a strong enduring faith; fixtures of character requisite for those who were to "raise up the foundations of many generations;" a faith, then most vigorous, when deepest in adversity; and a submissive cheerfulness, not running as an occasional mere thread or picture through a woof of blessings, but constituting both warp and woof, by God's grace, in the loom of his providence and word.

The history of this fast we will take mainly from Prince's compendium of Winslow and Bradford. But to render it more striking, by bringing into one view the successive hardships, discouragements, and fears of the colony from the beginning, through this particular cause of the want of food and sore famine, even unto apprehended destruction, we will set out where the Journal leaves us, just before the lamented death of Governor Carver, in the spring of 1621. That affliction came upon them in seed-time; but that darkest day was at the beginning of the renewal of God's mercy in the health and prosperity of the little company. "All the summer no want; while some were trading, others were fishing cod, bass, &c. We now gather in

our harvest, and as cold weather advances, there come in store of water-fowl, wherewith this place abounds, though afterwards they by degrees decrease; as also abundance of wild turkeys, with venison, &c. Fit our houses against winter, are in health, and have all things in plenty."

But now, even in a new cloud of mercy, lowers the threatening of change. Nov. 9th arrived the ship Fortune from England, the first reinforcement of the Pilgrims since the day, precisely a year before, when the May Flower came in sight of Cape Cod, and anchored in the harbor. This was the first news to gladden their hearts from their mother country, the first sail they had seen. In this ship "comes Mr. Cushman with thirty-five persons to live in the plantation, which not a little rejoices us. *But both ship and passengers poorly furnished with provisions*, so that we are forced to spare her some to carry her home, which threatens a famine among us, unless we have a timely supply."

It was excessive improvidence, and even cruelty, in those who sent out this ship, thus miserably to furnish her with provisions, not merely sending no food to the colony, when they sent thirty-five new mouths to be filled, but leaving the ship's company itself to be victualled from the colony for a return voyage! It was God's mercy, not man's wisdom, that the plantation was not ruined by this ship. Measures had now to be adopted in reference to want.

"Upon her departure, the Governor and his assistant dispose the late comers into several families, find their provisions will now scarce hold out six months at half allowance, and therefore put them to it, which they bare patiently."

"Trust not," wrote Mr. Winslow by return of this ship, for such as might be thinking to join the plantation, "trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of

this last company that came depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest."

And now came the beginning of those straits, whereof Mr. Winslow said, "such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, yet performed the duties of our other daily labors, to provide for after-time; when at some times in some seasons, *at noon I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food;* yet ere night, by the good providence and blessing of God, we have enjoyed such plenty as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us."

The stinted allowance continued till, under date of May in that year, the Pilgrims find themselves under pressure of severe want. "Our provision being spent, a famine begins to pinch us, and we look hard for supply, but none arrives."

At this time they spied a boat at sea, which proved to be a shallop from a ship called the Sparrow, bringing "seven passengers from Mr. Weston, but no victuals, nor hope of any: nor have we ever any afterwards; and by his letters find he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own."

This is the first notice we have of that miserable, base colony under this Weston, "merchant and citizen of London," which caused such great trial and injury to the Pilgrims, and in the end died out utterly in want, unthrift, dishonesty, and wretchedness. In the end of June two ships from this Weston came into the harbor, "having in them some fifty or sixty men, sent over at his own charge to plant for him." These were courteously and kindly received by the Pilgrims, notwithstanding their own great straits. But evil was returned for good. "The body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, while some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would

sometimes seem to help us in our labor about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable; and though they received much kindness, set light both by it and us, not sparing to requite the love we showed them with secret backbitings, revilings, &c. Nevertheless, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable proceedings."

These miserable adventurers settled at Wessagusset, afterwards called Weymouth, in Massachusetts Bay.

There were three things, Mr. Winslow said, which were "the overthrow and bane of plantations;" the third thing, "the carelessness of those that send over supplies of men unto them, not caring how they be qualified; so that oftimes they are rather the images of men endowed with bestial, yea, diabolical affections, than the image of God, endued with reason, understanding, and holiness. There is no godly, honest man, but will be helpful in his kind, and adorn his profession with an upright life and conversation; which doctrine of manners ought first to be preached by giving good example to the poor savage heathens amongst whom they live. Great offence hath been given by many profane men, who, being but seeming Christians, have made Christianity stink in the nostrils of the poor infidels."

The boat that brought the seven new mouths to be filled, but no victuals, brought also a kindly letter from the captain of a fishing ship at the eastward, Mr. John Huddleston, to whom the governor of the Pilgrim Colony sent forthwith a boat under Mr. Winslow for provisions. By the good providence of God he obtained so much bread as amounted to a quarter of a pound daily for each person till

harvest, and returned in safety. The governor caused their portion to be daily given them, or some had starved.

"The want of bread had abated the strength and flesh of some, had swelled others; and had they not been where are diverse sorts of shell-fish, they must have perished. These extremities befell us in May and June: and in the time of these straits, the Indians began to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off; which occasions us to erect a Fort on the hill above us."

This Fort being built, served also, thenceforward, as the place of public worship.

Now again harvest time had come, but with it little relief for the present and apprehended necessities of the colony. "Our crop proving scanty, partly *through weakness to tend it, for want of food*, partly through other business, and partly by much being stolen, a famine must ensue next year, unless prevented. But by an unexpected providence come into our harbor two ships." One of these was the Discovery under Captain Jones, on her way from Virginia to England. Of her, though the Pilgrims seem to have obtained little bread, yet they bought a store of knives and beads which enabled them to trade with the Indians for corn, and thus helped to save them from destruction. The food thus obtained during the winter, by expeditions of great difficulty and danger, amidst freezing weather, was divided from time to time among the people.

Meantime the miserable Colony under Weston, at Wessagusset, in Massachusetts Bay having spent all their bread and corn, and being so despised and hated of the natives, for their ill and dishonest conduct, that they could gain no supply from them, thought of making a foray upon them and taking it by force. But first the overseer determined to ask advice of the Colony at Plymouth, being persuaded thereto by some more honestly minded. The main question in the letter, which was sent with speed by an Indian messenger,

was whether he should take the corn by violence, on the promise afterwards to make restitution. The answer was not delayed, and was such as the known piety and wisdom of the Colony would lead us to expect.

The moral superiority and power of the Pilgrims was on such occasions signally displayed, as well as their sagacity and judgment. After serious consultation together, the Governor returned a warning, signed by many of the company, that their violent intentions were contrary both to the law of God and nature, and against that propagation of the Gospel which they were bound to seek, avoiding whatever might prejudice that great object. The Governor bade them remember that their case was no worse than that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, who had but little corn left, and were forced to live on ground-nuts, clams, muscles, and such other things as naturally the country afforded; all which things they had in abundance at Wessagusset, with oysters in addition; and therefore necessity could not be said to constrain them to their intended violence. "Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their food abroad; which, having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace; after which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God; whereas on the contrary they could not."

This friendly advice and warning changed, for the present, the resolution and temper of the adventurers; but by the month of March the plantation was utterly broken up in less than a year after it was started. "And this," remarked Governor Bradford, "is the end of those, who being all able men, had boasted of their strength, and what they would bring to pass, in comparison of the people of Plymouth, who had many women, children, and weak ones with them."

Up to the month of April, the pressure of want among the Pilgrims continued, and now was increasing. "No supply being heard of, nor knowing when to expect any, we consider how to raise a better crop, and not languish still in misery." It was determined that at this seedtime, every family should plant for themselves, and even the women and children went into the field to work, so that more corn was planted than ever.

"But by the time our corn was planted, our victuals are spent: not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together: yet bear our wants with cheerfulness, and rest on Providence.

"Having but one boat left, we divided our men into several companies, six or seven in each: who take their turns to go out with a net and fish, and return not till they get some, though they be five or six days out; knowing there's nothing at home, and to return empty would be a great discouragement. When they stay long or get but little, the rest go a digging shell-fish. And thus we live the summer; only sending one or two to range the woods for deer, they now and then get one, which we divide among the company; and in the winter are helped with fowl and ground-nuts."

By the middle of July the colonists seemed brought to the end of all their hopes, almost to utter desperation. "Notwithstanding our great pains and hopes of a large crop, God seems to blast them and threaten sorer famine by a great drought and heat, from the third week in May to the middle of this month, so as the corn withers, both the blade and stalk, as if it were utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning."

To add to their distress they heard of a ship in which

supplies were coming to them from England being in company with another ship only 300 leagues from the coast, and then for three months waited for her in vain, beholding nothing but the signs of a wreck upon the shore, which they judged must be the ruins of that ship. All things put together, it seemed as if God had turned against the colony, and would be favorable no more.

Yet they were not *so* discouraged as not to wait upon God, but so as to wait *only* upon him. To him, as their sole refuge, they fled, individually and unitedly.

"These and the like considerations," says Mr. Winslow, "moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him, but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by public authority, and set apart from all other employments; hoping that the same God which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look down upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might stand with his glory and our good. But Oh the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear as we to ask; for though in the morning, when we were assembled together, the heavens were as clear and the drought as like to continue as ever it was, yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours) before our departure the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet and moderate showers of rain, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered corn or drooping affections were most quickened or revived. Such was the bounty and goodness of our God."

Perhaps a more remarkable instance of God's interposition in answer to prayer is not to be found on record. The showers came, said Governor Bradford, "without any thunder, wind, or violence, and by degrees and that abundance

that the earth was thoroughly soaked, and the decayed corn and other fruits so revived as was wonderful to see, the Indians were astonished to behold, and gave a joyful prospect of a fruitful harvest." The interposition was as clearly from God as when Elijah prayed of old and the heavens gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruits.

It happened that the day when this solemn fast was appointed, and the whole Colony were assembled in prayer, a number of the Indians were in at the Pilgrim settlement, among whom was Hobbamock, or Hobomok, the friend of the colonists, and who died, as some earnestly hoped, a believer in the Pilgrims' God. Hobbamock and the Indians, observing these holy exercises in the middle of the week, remarked that it was but three days since Sunday, and could not tell what it could mean. Hobbamock demanded the reason of a boy whom he met, and, being told, communicated it to the natives; and their astonishment may easily be conceived, when, having been instructed as to the purpose of the day and its services, as a time for the Pilgrims to humble themselves before their God, and to seek his mercy in prayer for rain, they saw what followed; saw the clouds gather and the rain begin to fall. "He and all of them," says Mr. Winslow, "admired the goodness of our God towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time." And well they might admire it. Even their own dark belief in the Great Spirit made them feel that it was the Pilgrims' God, hearing, answering, and providing for them.

If the excellent Robinson had heard of this affecting interposition and proof of God's goodness, and its effect upon the minds of the savages, what tenderness and grief he must have felt when he wrote to the Church in regard to the first Indians killed in the conflict with Standish in March at Wessagusset, "O how happy a thing had it been, that you had converted some, before you killed any!" But the missionary spirit of the Pilgrims was destined not to bear

its fruits in the immediate conversion of the natives, till the coming and apostolic labors of Elliot. And why may we not regard that remarkable man as an instrument raised up and made successful in answer to the Pilgrims' prayers? The same God who provided them rain when they pleaded for it, opened for them, when his set time had come, doors wide and effectual for the power of his word, even among the Indians.

None ever yet, with sincere purpose of heart, and a lowly spirit, appointed a Fast-Day, but God changed it into a Thanksgiving. In addition to the reviving rains, the Colony was comforted by the return of Captain Standish, whom the Governor had sent away to buy provisions; and they also learned that the ship was safe, which they had supposed wrecked with their supplies, and would soon come to them.

"So that," says Mr. Winslow, "having these many signs of God's favor and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude if secretly we should smother up the same, or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that, which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemn day was set apart and appointed for that end; wherein we returned glory, honor, and praise with all thankfulness, to our good God, which deals so graciously with us; whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised now and evermore, Amen."

In the Charlestown Records, as published by Dr. Young in his Chronicles of Massachusetts, we find a similar change of a Fast-Day into Thanksgiving in the Massachusetts Colony. It was in 1631. The winter had come on, and provisions were so scanty, that the colonists had to live upon clams, muscles, ground-nuts, and acorns, and these got with much difficulty in the winter season. The last batch of bread was in the Governor's oven. "But God, who delights to appear in greatest straits, did work marvellously

at this time; for before the very day appointed to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, in comes Mr. Pearce (in a ship from Ireland) laden with provisions. Upon which occasion the Fast-Day was changed, and ordered to be kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; when provisions were by the Governor distributed unto the people proportionable to their necessities.'"*

The Day of Thanksgiving appointed by the Plymouth Pilgrims was kept out of the fulness of their hearts, for it was a marvellous change which God had wrought for them in answer to prayer. A blessing so public and so great they would not *smother up* in mere private acknowledgments, but the whole Colony were gathered into their meeting-house in the timber-fort upon the hill, where not only their Elder, Mr. Brewster, discoursed to them concerning God's goodness, but the Governor himself, according to his frequent wont, would exhort them that with such a faithful, covenant-keeping God they should never yield to unbelief or fear.

Soon after this day of thanksgiving their hearts were further gladdened with the sight of two ships with supplies entering their harbor, one of them perhaps the very next morning, bringing an addition of men to the colony; some of them good men and true, "but others so bad," said Governor Bradford, "that we were forced to be at the charge to send them home next year."

When these passengers saw their poor and low condition ashore, they were much dismayed and full of sadness. They had ever been accustomed to good fare and many blessings, and were not prepared by God's discipline to join in days of thanksgiving amidst seasons of adversity. "Only our old friends," continues Governor Bradford, "rejoiced to see us, and that it was no worse, and now hoped we should enjoy better days together. The best dish we

* Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, 385.

could present them with was a lobster or piece of fish without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water: and the long continuance of this diet, with our labors abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion; but God gives us health."

"Now our harvest came," added Governor Bradford, under date of September; "instead of famine we had plenty, and the face of things was changed to the joy of our hearts; nor has there been any general want of food among us since to this day;" from September, 1623, to the close of the year 1646, up to which Governor Bradford carried his history.

Such is the account of the first days of Fasting and Thanksgiving in New England. The record of God's interpositions amidst actual and threatening famine, with the thanksgiving afterwards, formed an episode by itself, in the early annals of our Pilgrim Fathers, beautifully illustrative of God's goodness and of their faith.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL, CHURCH ORGANIZATION, AND ORDINATION.

The contrast between the first and second colonizings of New England, between the settlement at Plymouth and that at Salem and Boston, deserves to be noted. It seemed as if God, by the baptism of suffering through which he led the first band of Pilgrims, had inspired the spirit of death to self in those who came after them. But the difference was wide in their external appointments and prospects. The first Pilgrim voyage in 1620 was in the little vessel of the May Flower, with one hundred souls in all, of whom half died within five months. The second emigration in 1630 was in four ships out of a fleet of eleven, the other seven being destined to the same expedition, but not yet quite ready for sea; the ships dignified as Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Captain; the first being the Arabella, of 350 tons, manned with fifty-two seamen and twenty-eight guns. Fifteen hundred persons embarked that season for Massachusetts. The colony at Boston endured a devastating sickness, and then about a hundred of the colonists fled back to England, relinquishing the enterprise at the first thickening difficulties. Among them were some in whom the colony confided as its main and sure supporters.

There had been one settler before them at Boston, Mr. William Blackstone, a Puritan Minister of the English Church, of such large and determined principles of liberty and independence that he found the colony itself afterwards too intolerant for him, and would not be connected with the church. "I came from England," said he, "because I did not like the Lord-Bishops: and I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren." This company of colonists were full of affectionate and forgiving remembrance of their Mother Church, and they besought an interest still in her prayers in Old England; promising a return of the same, "when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably befall us."

How beautiful is this recognition of the great principle of God's dispensations with his people, to make them, like the Captain of their Salvation, *perfect through suffering!* They were to be overshadowed with the great spirit of supplication through the sufferings awaiting them in the wilderness! The tribute paid by the historian Grahame to the noble character of this consecrated band is so just both for them and the Plymouth Pilgrims, and so eloquent in itself, that we shall quote a part of it.

"Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony was rendered complete by the royal charter, 1st May, 1629, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous Puritans, accompanied by some eminent Nonconformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding emigrants had found an untimely

grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, supported by the worth and dignity of the design which they were combined to accomplish. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous purpose; and they experienced none of those jealousies which invariably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among persons unequally qualified to promote the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers; but it had long since ceased to wear towards them a benign or paternal countenance; and in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which Christians and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom, by kindling and preserving there the sacred fire of religion and liberty."*

This second colony came out beneath the authority of a charter, whereas the Plymouth colony had none. There was not, therefore, a second time transacted the august ceremony that passed in the cabin of the May Flower. One such self-constituting act of a free community was enough in the infancy of a nation.

But although the colony of Massachusetts was not compelled in the same manner with that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth to throw itself upon a voluntary compact as a body politic, yet precisely in the same way did God lead them also into their religious form as an independent church. The history of their various conferences with the Plymouth colony is deeply interesting. There was among the Pilgrims a physician of ability and intelligence, Dr. Fuller, who had been a deacon in the Pilgrim church in Leyden, and, of course, held the same office in the Pilgrim church at Plymouth. Early in 1629, Governor Endicott was compelled, by the sickness prevailing in the little company at Salem, to send to Governor Bradford for the services of Dr. Fuller. The Doctor seems to have been a

* Grahame's Colonial History, vol. i. 213.

man of large education, and thoroughly grounded in the reason and practice of Congregationalism as it was established in Mr. Robinson's church. During his stay at Salem for the healing of the people, he had no little conference with Mr. Endicott concerning the discipline of that church, and found his mind already strongly attracted towards it. The fruit of their conversations may be gathered from the friendly Christian letter of Mr. Endicott to Governor Bradford, of May 11th, 1629, which was as follows: "Right worshipful sir: It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers to one another. I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I *cannot* be so to you. God's people are marked with one and the same mark, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, and are guided by one and the same spirit of Truth; and wheresoever this is, there can be no discord, nay, but a sweet harmony. And this same request with you I make to the Lord, that we, as Christian brethren, may be united by hearty and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work which is beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways.

"I acknowledge myself most bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outer form of God's worship. It is as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth: and the same which I have preferred and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me; being far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular: but God's children must not look for less here below, and it is a great mercy of God that He strengthens them to go through it."*

Meantime there had sailed from England, May 4th and May 11th, 1629, the three first ships for the Salem Colony,

* Governor Bradford's Letter Book.

"being all three full of godly passengers, with the four ministers for the Massachusetts."* The ministers were Messrs. Skelton, Higginson, and Bright, the latter having been trained up under Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Smith, afterwards settled over the Pilgrim Church at Plymouth. They arrived June 24th, and now the first business which occupied the care of the Governor and the Colonists was the Covenant of the Church and the ordaining of its ministry. The 20th of July was appointed by the Governor as a day of solemn prayer with fasting, for the trial and choice of a Pastor and teacher. The forenoon they spent in prayer, and in witnessing the exercise of the gifts of the candidates in Teaching, and the afternoon in their examination and election, which issued in the choice of Mr. Skelton Pastor, and Mr. Higginson Teacher. Upon their acceptance of the charge, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands upon Mr. Skelton with solemn prayer, and then Mr. Skelton and some others performed the same ceremony with Mr. Higginson. They then appointed Thursday, the 6th of August, as another day of prayer and fasting for the choice and ordination of Elders and Deacons. The same day the church were to enter into Covenant. They were thirty in number who were thus to be constituted or organized. Mr. Higginson drew up for them a Confession of Faith, and a Church Covenant, according to Scripture, of which thirty copies were written out, and one delivered to every member. The Church at Plymouth was invited to be present by their messengers, to give their advice and assistance in this important solemnity.

When the day came, they first listened to the sermons of the two ministers, together with the usual exercises of prayer. Then in the afternoon the Confession and Covenant were read in the public assembly, and solemnly by the members assumed. They then proceeded to the cere-

* Prince, 184, 185.

mony of ordination, which was performed with prayer and the laying on of the hands of certain of the brethren appointed by the Church for that purpose. This they did with Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, although they were both before ordained by Bishops in the Church of England. They were now ordained by those who chose them for their ministers.*

In the midst of these ceremonies, Governor Bradford and the other delegates from the Church of the Pilgrims at Plymouth presented themselves. They had set sail in good time from Plymouth, but had been detained by adverse winds; yet happily arrived in season to give the Right Hand of Fellowship to their sister church, and to unite with them in prayer and praise for God's blessing. This was a sacred and remarkable day. It was the first ceremony of the kind ever transacted on this Continent. In its simplicity and sole dependence upon Christ, it had a dignity and true grandeur, which could not be found in all the gorgeous array of pomp and circumstance borrowed in the English Establishment from the Romish Church.

And on what occasion of Hierarchical grandeur was there ever a form or a document made use of, to be compared in value or in beauty with the following admirable Covenant? We here present it as given in Mather's Magnalia; the Covenant of the first Church of Christ ever organized in America. Not the first church ever *in* America, nor the first Independent or Congregational Church in New England; this last claim belongs to the Pilgrim Church at Plymouth, which was a church already in being and form, before its members landed from the May Flower; but the first church *organized* in New England was that church at Salem, in 1629. And the following is doubtless the first Church Covenant ever drawn up in America.

* Prince, 189, 191.—Mather's Magnalia, vol. i. 60.—Grahame's Colonial History, vol. i. 214, 215.

"We covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in His blessed Word of Truth, and do explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Word of his Grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us, in matters of worship and conversation; resolving to cleave unto Him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in worship.

We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us.

In public or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the Church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

We will not in the congregation be forward, either to show our gifts and parts, in speaking or scrupling; or there discover the weaknesses or failings of our brethren, but attend an orderly call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonored, and His gospel and the profession of it slighted, by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we

desire to promote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places by our not grieving their spirits, through our irregularities.

We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular calling, shunning idleness as the bane of any state, nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards.

Promising also to our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God and of his will, that they may serve him also; and all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant, made in his name."

It will be noted that a special guard is introduced into this admirable Christian agreement, against that forwardness in the showing of gifts and parts, whether in speaking or scrupling, in regard to which there was a spice of anxiety and jealousy in reference to the Plymouth Church, lest the brethren there had gone to an unwarrantable extent of liberty. The truth is, that the Plymouth Church, having been for many years entirely separated from the Establishment, were entirely emancipated from its bondage. The Salem Church and ministers had been Nonconformists in England, but had not, till now, separated from the Establishment, and they were still trembling at the largeness of their liberty in Christ. Until they came to New England, and beheld the Plymouth Church in its simple New Testament freedom and purity, they do not seem to have been acquainted with the system of Congregationalism. But now the prediction of Robinson was fulfilled; they saw the beauty and Scriptural order and freedom of that system, although at first with a little fear; and here, on this common ground of deliverance from the

laws and persecutions of the Established Hierarchy, and of freedom to worship God under the sole rule of His Word, the Separatists and the Nonconformists became one; or rather, not so much *became* one, as found themselves to be *already* one, with really no points of difference between them.

Dr. Bacon has finely remarked upon this agreement as a proof of the clear Christian discernment of Robinson;* and Mr. Cotton declared, in reference to the accusation of having imitated the Plymouth model, that "there was no such thing as an agreement by any solemn or common consultation; but that it was true they did, as if they had agreed, by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up, by the help of Christ, the same model of Churches, one like to another; and so if they of Plymouth had helped any of the first comers in their theory, by hearing and discussing their practices, therein the Scripture was fulfilled that the Kingdom of Heaven was like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened."†

Mr. Winslow was at pains still more fully to show the falsehood of the charge that the successive Colonists "took Plymouth for their precedent as fast as they came;" for this was not bestowing honor where it was due, and the credit of the establishment of those successive flourishing churches on that New Testament plan belonged to the Word of God only; "our practice being, for aught we know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or human invention known to us, taking our pattern from the primitive churches, as they were regulated by the blessed Apostles in their own days, who were taught and instructed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and had the unerring and all knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard." "'Tis true,"

* Bacon's Historical Discourses, 14.

† Governor Bradford's Dialogue, in Young's Chron. 426.

says Mr. Winslow, "some of them coming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England, some of the chief of them advised with us how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship, and desired to that end, since God had honored us to lay the foundation of a Commonwealth, and to settle a Church in it, to show them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the several Churches by the said Apostles, together with the commandments of Christ the Lord in the Gospel, and other our warrants for every particular we did from the Book of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entered into covenant with God and one another to walk in all his ways, revealed, or as they should be made known unto them, and to worship Him according to His will revealed in his written Word only, so that here also thou mayest see they set not the Church at Plymouth before them for example, but the primitive churches were and are their and our mutual patterns and examples, which are only worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them, who were sent immediately by Christ himself, and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a pattern fit to be followed of all that fear God, and no man or men to be followed further than they followed Christ and them." *

It is truly remarkable how exactly these sentiments and declarations accorded with those of the earliest Puritan in England, Bishop Hooper, and how the complete reformation which he, at the cost of martyrdom, projected and proclaimed, in the Old World, had here sprung up, two hundred years afterwards, well nigh perfected, in the New.

* Winslow's Brief Narration, Young's Chron. 356.

It is no reproach of the dead man, said he (alluding to the authority of the Fathers, which he was boldly casting aside), "but mine opinion unto all the world, that THE SCRIPTURE SOLELY, AND THE APOSTLES' CHURCH, IS TO BE FOLLOWED, AND NO MAN'S AUTHORITY, BE HE AUGUSTINE, TERTULLIAN, OR EVEN CHERUBIM OR SERAPHIM." * Mine opinion unto all the world! There is great grandeur in that declaration, from amidst the lighted torches and piled fagots of Rome.

And the spirit of Hooper had fallen upon John Robinson, and the Plymouth Church. This was his parting legacy on the verge of the sea. "Brethren, we are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed that or no, I charge you before God, and before His blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ."

* Bishop Hooper on the Authority of the Word, in his Declaration of Christ and His Office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT SCHISM.—RECALCITRATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

It was not likely that such a covenant as this, the principles of which it was clearly foreseen would govern the infant colony, could be entered into, among a body of adventurers of various views, and some of them of irreligious habits, without a jealous opposition. It was the future world predominating over the present, and it brought down the maxims and realities of that world into a practical conflict with, and mastery over, the god, the habits, and the forms of this. Moreover it was a complete release of men's consciences from the church-and-state law and power of England; it was the practice, under charter, of that religious freedom, which the Plymouth Pilgrims had settled without one.

Now then there was at once an attempt on the part of the old hierarchy to resume its power. It was found that here into this covenanted church of Christ in the New World men were not to be admitted merely on the ground of National Church membership, and a sacramental oath in the Old World. It was found, to the amazement of some, that this new church of Christ had put itself on such a

daring position of liberty and power under Christ's sole authority, without any regard to the will of the monarch, or the state, or the hierarchy, as to exclude all persons of scandalous lives from the table of the Lord and from the privileges of his covenant. It was found, moreover, that these ministers and this church not only could but would pray without a prayer-book, and that the Book of Common Prayer, which had been imposed by violence in England, was no more to bind them here, than the Book of Sports, which James, Charles, and Laud were making the gospel of the nation, or the May-pole itself, which Governor Endicott had cut down from Mount Dagon. It was discovered, in fine, that what was a poor, miserable, mere, outlawed, despised, down-trodden conventicle in England, was going to be, here in the wilderness, the sole, august, spiritual, beautiful Church of Christ, almost the Church Triumphant, instead of the Church Militant. It seemed, to those who had admired and relished the old order of things, as if here the Old Conventicle had become the Living Temple of God, while the Old Hierarchy would be regarded as nothing better than Satan's Conventicle.

There was an uprising against all this, immediately. We shall give the account of it, first, in the words of Mr. Neal in his History of New England.

"Some of the passengers, who came over with these first planters, observing that the ministers did not use the Book of Common Prayer; that they administered Baptism and the Lord's Supper without the ceremonies [of the Liturgy of the Church of England]; that they refused to admit disorderly persons, and resolved to use discipline against all scandalous members of the church, set up a separate assembly, according to the usage of the Church of England. Of these Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother were the chief, the one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of estates and figure, and of the number of the first patentees. The Governor, perceiving the dis-

turbance that was like to arise on this occasion, sent for the two brothers, who accused the ministers as departing from the order of the Church of England, adding that they were Separatists, and would shortly be *Anabaptists*, but for themselves they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers replied that they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, that they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders of that Church; that they came away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their Nonconformity in their native land, and therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the impositions of these things to be sinful corruptions of the word of God. The Governor, the Council, and the people generally, approved of the ministers' answer; but the two brothers, not being satisfied, and endeavoring to raise a mutiny among the people, were sent back to England by the return of the same ships that brought them over."*

Thus far with the testimony of Mr. Neal, which in this matter is mainly drawn from that of Cotton Mather in his Magnalia.

Let us now take the record of an admirable historian of our country, whose sympathies indeed, as a religious Scotchman of a free and generous mind, are with our Pilgrim Fathers, but who is confessed, on all hands, to have written with great fairness and impartiality, the testimony of Mr. Grahame, in his Colonial History of the United States.

"Two brothers," he says, "of the name of Browne, one a lawyer and the other a merchant, both of them men of note, and among the original patentees, dissented from this constitution (of the Plymouth church as copied by the church at Salem), and arguing with great absurdity that all

* Neal's History of New England, vol. i., p. 129.

who adhered to it would infallibly become Anabaptists, endeavored to procure converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation, on a model more approximated to the form of the Church of England. The defectiveness of their argument was supplied by the vehemence of their clamor; and they obtained a favorable audience from a few persons who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the provincial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the rules of morality. Endicott, the Governor, called those men together with the ministers before a general assembly of the people, who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system that had been established; and as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavored to excite a mutiny against the government, they were declared unfit to remain in the colony, and compelled to re-embark and depart in the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England. Their departure restored harmony to the colonists, who were endeavoring to complete their settlement, and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence."*

"Notwithstanding the censure," continues Mr. Grahame, "with which some writers have commented on the banishment of the two individuals whose case we have remarked, the justice of the proceeding must commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men."

Now this judgment is the more striking and trustworthy because it comes from a man who did not fail on other occasions to rebuke severely the spirit of intolerance, when

* Grahame's Colonial History of the United States, vol. i., p. 216.

he saw it displayed in the acts or temper of any of the Puritans. He adds that on the return of these men to England, when they preferred their complaint and accusation against the colonists for oppression towards themselves and enmity to the Church of England, the total disregard which their complaint experienced confirms the opinion that the intendment of the Massachusetts Charter was to give the colonists unrestricted liberty to regulate their own ecclesiastical estate. They had, therefore, a legal right, as well as the right of equity, to return these disturbers of the peace to the bosom of that native establishment, the laws of which the disturbers would, if they could, have enforced upon the colony.

We regard this opinion of the historian Grahame, in the case of these men, as a righteous and true judgment; and we cannot but contrast it honorably with the sneer of the historian Bancroft, on the same occasion, "that the blessings of the promised land were to be kept for Puritanic Dissenters, and that these Brownes were banished from Salem because they were churchmen."

If indeed this had been the case, it was a lesson taught by the churchmen themselves, who were just now endeavoring to prevent, for ever, any other lesson from being taught or learned, either in the New World or the Old. The truth is, if the blessings of the promised land, the blessings of religious liberty, had *not* been kept for Puritanic Dissenters, they would neither have been permitted to, nor enjoyed by, any other sects in the world. The sanctuary of these Puritanic Dissenters was the only place in the whole world where they *could be* enjoyed. Indeed, it was the only place where the nature of a perfect religious liberty was beginning to be understood. These blessings were not regarded *as* blessings by any others *than* these same Puritanic Dissenters. There were no others who saw far enough into the nature of the Gospel, and the preciousness and glory of a free conscience, to esteem these

things as the free and most precious gifts of God to man. Nay, these blessings of free church covenants, and a church free to exercise Christ's spiritual discipline upon scandalous persons, and free to pray without the Common Prayer Book, and to be baptized without the sign of the cross, and to exercise the gifts of brethren, without the soldiers of a High Commission committing them to prison, were regarded as the superstitions of a knot of poor, pitiful, obstinate fanatics; blessings which they of the Establishment not only did not *wish* to share, but would not leave quietly for the dissenters themselves to share.

They had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to connive at this region of New England becoming a sort of Botany Bay for those who were punished as criminals against the Establishment; and now they were endeavoring to bring the Establishment itself over into this very Botany Bay; they were exclaiming against the exclusiveness of these criminals in wishing to maintain that freedom which had been connived at, and for the enjoyment of which they had suffered themselves to be transported *like* criminals, from their native land. Perhaps, if we look fairly at both sides of the point before us, we shall find that these men were *not* banished because they were churchmen, but because they would not suffer others quietly to be dissenters. It was evident, beyond question, to the foresight of Governor Endicott, that they were just introducing, with the whole weight of the regal and ecclesiastical despotism of England on their side, the same exclusive and tyrannical system here, which had ground the Nonconformists into powder there. Let them get footing with their Common Prayer Book and Rubrics, and their accusations against the Pilgrim Ministers and churches, of Separatism and disobedience, rebellion and dissent, and how long would it have been, before King Charles's and Archbishop Laud's troops would have been transported from England into America, to dragoon these rebels into submission, and to sustain here

likewise the oppressive Hierarchical system, in all its power and grandeur?

The colonists had fled from the despotism of that system in England; they were wise and just not to admit it here, nor even an entering wedge for it. It was as a ferocious wild beast, whom they could not conquer there, though they could happily fly beyond the reach of his violence here. And now, shall they be accused of intolerance, simply because here, where they *could* confine him, they would not let him go at large; or because here they shut him up in a vessel, and transported him back to his original, national menagerie?

"I will be tolerant of everything else," said Mr. Coleridge, "but every other man's intolerance." Now here it was plainly the intolerance of others, not their religion, of which Governor Endicott would not be tolerant. And in this thing he and the colonists were evidently guided by Infinite wisdom. For, if the churchmen had been permitted to go on, there would have been an end to this sanctuary of freedom in the wilderness. There would have been no New England in existence, in the history of which there should be scope for a sneer at the piety, or the freedom, or the superstition of its founders. Their *not* being suffered to go on, is the reason why they, and all other sects, even Bunyan's Giant Grim, with his nails pared, are here in quiet now. God, in his gracious divine providence, would not suffer any others than the persecuted Puritanic Dissenters to get footing here, until both in the Old World and the New the great lesson of religious liberty had been more fully taught and understood. He had much light yet for Cromwell and the Independents of England to pour upon this question. The sneers at the course of our Pilgrim Fathers are sneers against the providence of God and the freedom of man.

If the Brownes had been permitted to go on in their factious course, the formal church, which they were seeking to set up, must have been an Established Church; it must

have been a church, which, so soon as it got power, would have put down every other church as a Conventicle, would have compelled every other church to conform to it. And it would have got power immediately. A single petition to the Church and Government of England for aid would have brought over a commission from Laud and Charles, charged with power to uproot the dissenting heresy from its foundations. So that, whether it were the wisdom and foresight of Endicott and his coadjutors, or their mere fanaticism, or not, that produced their course of conduct on this occasion, it was the salvation of that colony, it was the preservation of New England liberty from extinction in the bud. It was the providential wisdom and goodness of God, guarding the system which the Puritans were seeking to establish; preserving the newly planted Vine from the boar out of the woods and the wild boar out of the Establishment, that they should not devour it. Our fathers were too vigilant and wise to tolerate in their infant church and state what they saw plainly would utterly destroy its freedom, and make it in the end merely a branch of the Church-and-State system of England.

That their conclusions were true, that their foresight was timely, that their course was the only course which a true regard to the freedom of the colony admitted, is fully proved by what, within a very short period, did take place under Laud; by the imprisonment of Winslow, and the High Commission under Land for overthrowing completely the Puritan churches of New England, and establishing the English church upon their ruins; a thing which most certainly would have been accomplished, if meanwhile there had been but the very commencement of an Episcopal church, under government of the Establishment, already planted. Viewed as a mutinous effort against the Government, the movement of these Brownes was most justly restrained and prevented *by* the Government; viewed as simply and merely an attempt to set up the Church of Eng-

land, and thus put down Separation and Dissent, the course pursued by the Government must be regarded as an act of pure self-defence, and they must be confessed to have exercised great wisdom in transporting those men back to the enjoyment of the Establishment in their own country. It was fully proved that the Church and Dissent would not be tolerated together by the Government of England. Dissent had fled to New England and gained possession of a place, where, by itself, it could live at liberty. When the Established Church came also, it was really a question which should be expelled. The right of previous possession alone, were that all which could be urged in the premises, would decide the case in favor of the right of the Puritanic Dissenters.

Dr. Bacon remarks, that as to the principle of requiring a sympathy with the great design of the plantation in those who were admitted to share its power and privileges, and a membership in the simple Church of Christ, out of which it was constituted, one simple fact, which the Fathers knew right well, is the vindication of their policy. "They knew that as soon as they should have built their houses, and got their lands under cultivation, as soon as they should have got enough of what was taxable and titheable to excite covetousness, the King would be sending over his needy profligates to govern them, and the Archbishop his surpliced commissaries to gather the tithes into his storehouse. Knowing this, they were resolved to leave no door open for such an invasion. They came hither to establish a free Christian commonwealth ; and to secure that end, they determined that in their commonwealth none should have any civil power, who either would not or could not enter at the door of Church Fellowship. They held themselves bound, they said, to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing the purity and peace of the ordinances for themselves and their posterity. When they introduced the principle, it was not for the sake of bestowing honors

or privileges upon piety, but for the sake of guarding their liberty, and securing the end for which they had made themselves exiles. If you call their adoption of this principle fanaticism, it is to be remembered that the same fanaticism runs through the history of England. How long has any man in England been permitted to hold any office under the crown, without being a communicant in the Church of England? Call it fanaticism if you will. To that fanaticism which threw off the laws of England, and made these colonies Puritan Commonwealths, we are indebted for our existence as a distinct and independent nation."*

* Bacon's Historical Discourses, p. 27.

CHAPTER XIX.

SLANDERS AGAINST THE COLONY.—LAUD'S HIGH COMMISSION TO OVERTURN ITS CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT.—THE CASE OF MR. WINSLOW'S IMPRISONMENT.—THE CASE OF MR. ENDICOTT, AND THE RED ROYAL ENSIGN.

To show the correctness of the preceding views, nothing more is requisite than just to glance at the attempts really made, and the steps actually taken from time to time, to set up a church despotism in the colonies under Archbishop Laud; attempts signally defeated by the good Providence of God, but which to all human appearance would have been successful, had there been a single Established Church set up in New England. The exclusion of the Episcopal Hierarchy for the present from the colonies was the only guarantee by which New England was looked to from abroad as being, in the words of Hallam, a secure place of refuge from present tyranny, and a boundless prospect for future hope. Hallam says that in 1638, hopeless of the civil and religious liberties of England, there were men of high rank, and of capacious and commanding minds, such as Jay, Hazlerig, Brooke, Hampden, and Cromwell, preparing to embark for America, when Laud, for his own and his master's cause, procured an order of council to stop their departure. He quotes the royal proclamation, and remarks that any trackless wilderness seemed better

than Laud's tyranny, and that the views of the Archbishop were not so much directed to the security of Church and Crown against disaffected men, as to the gratification of his own malignant humor in persecuting them.*

Already, as early as the year 1633, an order had been made in council forbidding the departure of a number of ships then ready to sail for New England with passengers and provisions, "because of the resorting thither of divers persons known to be ill affected not only with civil but ecclesiastical government at home; whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, in New England, especially in point of religion, as beside the ruin of the said plantation cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of Church and State here." This grew out of the slanders perpetrated against the colony by men who had been punished in it, or banished from it, for their crimes and immoralities, such as the notorious Morton, the servant Ratcliffe, and Sir Christopher Gardiner. Their gross falsehood was proven, and the order, though headed by Archbishop Laud himself, was not executed, but even the king declared that the slanderers should be severely punished.†

The slanderers and petitioners against the colony were instigated by Sir F. Gorges and Captain Mason, who wished for a general government over New England; and in their petition they charged both colonies with intended rebellion, that they meant to be wholly separate from the Church and laws of England, and that their ministers and people did continually rail against the State, the Church, and the bishops. Messrs. Cradock, Salstonstall, and Humphrey, who were then in England, answered the accusations on the part of the company so triumphantly that nothing could be done against them.‡

* Hallam's Constitutional History of England, p. 270.

† See a copy of the order in Hubbard, p. 152.

‡ Baylies' Memoir of Plymouth Colony, p. 207, vol. i.

Nevertheless, it was remarkable that that order in council should have failed; for Laud came into his archbishopric this year, and was carrying everything before him; and this was the year of his infamous cruelties against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. Moreover he was already stretching the arm of his power beyond seas, and the Puritanic refuge from his wrath and zeal in America he hated with a raging bitterness. This was the year in which Cotton fled to New England, the Earl of Dorset having sent him word that if he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have got his pardon, but the sin of Puritanism and Nonconformity was unpardonable, and therefore he must fly for his safety.*

The commission by the King to Archbishop Laud in 1635, was a high commission of despotic power over the whole colony. It was in fact the establishment of an irresponsible ecclesiastical and civil despotism, with authority in reference to the canons and customs of the church, and appointment and maintenance of the clergy, to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitution and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or by loss of life or member, according as the quality of the offence shall require; with power to remove governors and presidents, and appoint others, and punish delinquents; power to ordain temporal judges and civil magistrates, and also, judges, magistrates, and officers for and concerning courts ecclesiastical; and power to constitute and ordain tribunals and courts of justice both ecclesiastical and civil.

This despotic commission had been brewing for a long time, the Archbishop and King Charles having received many complaints of the divers sects and schisms alleged to be among the colonists, and of the spirit of liberty and independence thus growing up, so that it was said they would at that rate, ere long, take the royal jurisdiction itself

* Neal's Hist. Puritans, vol. ii. p. 279.

into their own hands, as they had already done the ecclesiastical government. Laud and the King were resolved to put a stop to all this, and to bring the colony under the supreme dominion of the Established Church. Had there been a branch of the Establishment set up in New England, beyond question this effort would have been made much earlier, and might have been successful. As it was, and in spite of an earnest and free remonstrance on the part of Massachusetts, things proceeded so far, that a writ of *quo warranto* was brought by Sir John Banks, the King's Attorney General, against the Governor, deputy Governor, and assistants of the Corporation of the Massachusetts; the charter was disclaimed, and judgment was given for the King, that the liberties and franchises of the said Corporation of the Massachusetts should be seized into the king's hands.* Orders in council followed, and a letter was sent revoking the patent; but there the mischief stopped, and it would seem from Governor Bradford's account, mainly through Mr. Winslow's instrumentality in the execution of his agency for the colonies. It was more remarkable now than before that Laud's plans should have been thwarted, for he was in the very plenitude of almost unrestricted power, and at the height of his malignant persecuting fury. It was the protecting Providence of God.

We will begin the description of Winslow's collision with the Archbishop by an extract from Gov. Winthrop's Journal in October of 1635, where we find it recorded that Mr. Winslow, the late Governor of Plymouth, being this year in England, petitioned the council there for a commission to withstand the intrusion of the French and Dutch, which was likely to take effect. Governor Winthrop justly says here that the petition was undertaken by ill advice, for that such precedents might endanger their

* Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Appendix, p. 440.

† Hubbard's Gen. Hist. N. Eng. ch. xxxvi. p. 272

liberties, as they should be permitted to do nothing thenceforward but by commission out of England. "However, the Archbishop being incensed against Mr. Winslow, as against all these plantations, informed the rest that he was a separatist and so forth, and that he did marry and so forth, and therefore got him committed; but after some few months he petitioned the board and was discharged."* And a marvel it was that he escaped so easily, as we shall see on following out this account more fully from the detail given by Governor Bradford.

Governor Bradford says that on this agency for the colonies Mr. Winslow encountered the slanders of their old enemies, Morton, Gardiner, and others, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the churches, and a new and general government. Sir F. Gorges, by Archbishop Laud's favor, was to have been sent over Governor-General into the country, and to have had means from the State for that end, and was now upon dispatch and conclusion of the business. And the Archbishop's intent was by his means, and some he should send with him, who were to be furnished with episcopal power, to disturb the peace of the churches, to overthrow their proceedings, and prevent their further growth. Mr. Winslow's petition came to nothing, as to its immediate point, by the influence of the Archbishop; but nevertheless, by God's providence, the whole plot and business of the Archbishop and Gorges fell to the ground by what transpired through Winslow's evidence and petition.†

The suit of Winslow had, it seems, been granted, after several examinations before the lords commissioners for the plantations in America, the main point being a warrant of right to the English Colonies to defend themselves

* Gov. Winthrop's Journal under 1635, p. 89.

† Morton's New England Memorial, 170. Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts, vol. ii. 409.

against all foreign enemies; and it was just about to be confirmed, when Archbishop Laud put a stop to it. Mr. Winslow then again resorted to the board of Commissioners, but meanwhile the Archbishop, with Gorges and Mason, had got Morton to renew his complaints and slanders. These were so thoroughly answered by Mr. Winslow, that the board checked Morton and rebuked him sharply, besides blaming Gorges and Mason for countenancing him. But now the Archbishop had another card to play, to which he was well accustomed; he entered on an inquisitorial examination of Mr. Winslow himself as to his conduct as a magistrate and church-member in the Colony. In the first place he was accused of the crime of teaching in the church publicly, and Morton gave evidence that he had seen and heard him do it; and to this Mr. Winslow answered that sometimes, in the absence and default of a minister, he did exercise his own gift to help the edification of his brethren when they wanted better means, which was not often. This exercising of gifts by men not in the Established Church Ministry was one of the Archbishop's mortal enmities; he would rather have a raging pestilence in the church; and now, after laboring with such thirsty diligence to exterminate every such practice and liberty in England, the sight of a freeman before him, not in prison, who plainly avowed that at home he *was* in the habit of exercising his gifts, if they were needed, was as detestable as that of Mordecai to Haman.

In the next place the Archbishop questioned him about the acts of his magistracy, especially his taking authority to perform the ceremony of marriage. As to this Mr. Winslow also confessed that having been called to the place of magistracy, he had sometimes married some; and further told their lordships that marriage was a civil thing, and that he found nowhere in the Word of God that it was tied to a minister; again, they were necessitated so to do, having for a long time together at first no minister; besides,

it was no new thing, for he had been so married himself in Holland, by the magistrates in their State-house.

Here was, indeed, a case for the Archbishop; and though the time was near when he could no longer have all things at his pleasure by the King's will, even in England, and the hour of retribution was hastening for his long course of cruelty, yet he still had such excessive authority to carry his tyranny into execution, that by vehement importunity he prevailed with the board of Commissioners to consent to Mr. Winslow's punishment, so that he was forthwith carried to the Fleet prison, and there lay seventeen weeks or thereabouts, before he could get released. If Archbishop Laud could have had his way, he would have imprisoned or decapitated the whole colony; but by God's good providence they were beyond his reach, for his hands were soon too full of roused adversaries in England, the victims of his oppression, to leave him at leisure to put up his gallows for Mordecai, or to execute his designs in the New World. This imprisonment of Winslow was one of the most outrageous acts of his despotism, and it shows what he would have done with the religious liberties of the colonies in New England, if by the existence of the Hierarchy, or any small shoot of it there, he could have had any plausible pretence for the establishment of supreme Ecclesiastical authority.

On the whole, we think, instead of abusing Mr. Endicott for his action in the premises, in sending the Brownes back to England, the impartial historian must regard him as the instrument of a Divine protecting providence for the salvation of the colony from an Ecclesiastical despotism. Endicott is spoken of in Johnson's Wonderworking Providence as "the much honored Mr. John Indicat, who came over with them to govern; a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere, applying himself to either, as occasion served." Bancroft has adopted

these characteristics in his description of Endicott, as "a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage; benevolent though austere; firm, though choleric; of a rugged nature, which the sternest form of Puritanism had not served to mellow." With great inconsistency he afterwards speaks of him as a man "whose self-will was inflamed by fanaticism, and whose religious antipathies persecution had matured into hatred." These two descriptions cannot be true. The banishment of the Brownes was not a proof of Endicott's fanaticism, but of his good judgment, foresight, and determination to guard the liberty of the colonists from invasion.

The letters of the Company in England on occasion of this difficulty, when the Brownes had been sent home, and had presented their complaints, are to be found in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts. The general instructions of the Company to Endicott and the Council are also there printed, and are full of interest. By these instructions, and by the Charter of the Colony, it will be found that Endicott was fully justified so far as related to them, in taking his prompt and energetic measures, both for the suppression of the rioters on Mount Dagon, and of the ecclesiastical and civil mutiny of the Brownes. No one can doubt this, when he reads such a passage as follows, after notice of the unanimous agreement of the ministers sent over. "Yet because it is often found that some busy persons, led more by their will than any good warrant out of God's Word, take opportunities by moving needless questions to stir up strife, and by that means to beget a question, and bring men to declare some difference in judgment, most commonly in things indifferent, from which small beginnings great mischiefs have followed, we pray you and the rest of the council, that if any such disputes shall happen amongst you, that you suppress them, and be careful to maintain peace and unity."

* Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, 160.

Endicott was a friend of Roger Williams, and much under his influence. Mr. Williams had preached a "discourse on the unlawfulness of all ceremonies and symbols, which had been borrowed from the service of idolatry or of Popery, on the ground that their use tended to lead men back to superstition and false religion." It was in accordance with this doctrine that Endicott, being the military commander, ordered the red cross to be cut from the King's military colors.* Endicott and Williams were both exceedingly strong in their hatred of Popery; but Endicott was naturally somewhat more hasty than Williams, though the anecdote is characteristic of both. There was nothing which Endicott regarded as a just principle, that he did not think should be put in practice. The attention of both these men, the preacher and the soldier, having been once turned to the Red Cross, and the question having occurred whether it was right to admit such a mark of the Beast in the ensigns of the Colony, it was almost as impossible to avoid agitation, as it is for some animals to prevent being infuriated at the sight of a red cloak. At length Mr. Endicott put an end to their questionings by erasing, on his own authority, a part of the red cross in the royal colors at Salem; enough, we suppose, to destroy the emblem of the cross, for their indignation was against the use of that sacred emblem in such a place, and not against the crimson hue.

The first record of this transaction we find in Gov. Winthrop's own Journal, of October 20th, 1634. He states that the ensign at Salem was defaced, namely, one part of the Red Cross taken away; which indeed savored of rebellion, but he says the truth was, it was done upon this opinion, that the Red Cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relic of Antichrist.†

* Prof. Gammell's Memoir of Roger Williams. Sparks's Am. Biog. v. 14, p. 36.

† Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 73.

It is next recorded, Nov. 27th, that the Governor's Assistants met at his house to advise concerning this matter, when they all expressed their dislike of this thing, and their purpose to punish the offenders; yet they were guarded, with as much wariness as they might use, being themselves doubtful of the lawfulness of the Cross in an ensign, though clear that the fact of the erasure in the colors, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful.

The result was, that in 1635 Mr. Endicott was left out from the magistracy at the election, and was called in question about defacing the cross in the ensign. A committee was appointed on this case, of one from every town, the magistrates also making choice of four. Their judgment was that the offence was great; that Mr. Endicott had been rash in taking more authority upon himself than he should have done, and indiscreet in not seeking advice of the Court; that his conduct was unwarrantable in that, judging the Cross to be a sin, he was content to have it reformed at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also; casting thus a blemish also upon the other magistrates, as if they would be willing to suffer idolatry. Mr. Endicott was publicly admonished, and rendered unable to bear office for the space of one year; they not being willing to deal a heavier sentence upon him, because they were persuaded that what he had done was out of tenderness of conscience, and not from any evil intent.*

It is evident that in the end Mr. Endicott's character did not suffer in the least with the Colony, by these transactions, for he was afterwards chosen to the highest offices in the gift of the people, and he was well known to be a man of integrity and piety. He pursued very much the same energetic course in regard to the King's red colors, that he did in regard to the obnoxious May Pole on Mount Dagon, the head quarters of Morton's revellings and insub-

* Gov Winthrop's Journal, page 81.

ordination; but whereas in the latter case his zeal was wisely and admirably directed against a glaring evil, in the former it was an insignificant thing, to which his own opinions had given a fictitious importance. A part of the judgment of the Court is very curious; that his offence was the greater, because, judging the cross to be a sin, he was content to have it reformed at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also. One might have thought this would have mitigated the offence, because, it being a matter of opinion, he only bestirred himself where he had some authority to do so, and left others to judge and act as they pleased.

It is very clear that the antipathy of Williams and Endicott against all Popish emblems was shared by other as good men as they, in both Colonies. On the return of Governor Winthrop from his visit to the Colony at Plymouth, it is recorded in the Governor's Journal that they came to a place called *Hue's Cross*, and the Governor was much displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts; so he changed the name, and called it Hue's Folly.* Our Pilgrim Fathers were too near the age of martyrdom in England not to feel the necessity of such vigilance.

* Winthrop's Journal, Oct. 27, 1632.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FIRST IMPOSITION OF A MINISTER, AND THE CHARACTER AND END OF THE MAN AND THE EFFORT.—CONSPIRACY OF LYFORD AND OLDHAM.—ENERGY AND PRUDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR.

The colony of Pilgrims were evidently well supplied with an orderly and devout ministration of the Gospel, in the case of Mr. Brewster. There were some, however, in England, who insisted on their having an ordained minister, though doubtless mainly because they hoped thereby the more effectually to prevent Mr. Robinson from joining the colony, with the rest of the church in Leyden. There was, even at a very early period, a strong faction among the Merchant Adventurers, opposed to the Pilgrims, and to the influence of Robinson over them, and to his intention of joining them. In a letter in 1823, Robinson speaks in a saddened and desponding tone, both as to the state of the Church in Leyden, and the prospect of their ever getting to Plymouth. Doubtless the church suffered by the drawing away of so great a portion of its vitality, the Pilgrims being evidently amongst the most energetic and faithful of its members. And the faithful Pastor began to find himself in a trying position. He speaks of the good news they hear from the Pilgrims, "which makes us with the more patience bear our languishing state, and the deferring

of our desired transportation, which I call desired rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand with by others." He then speaks of five or six of their bitter professed adversaries among the Adventurers, and of certain forward preachers of great influence, who of all others are unwilling that Robinson should join the Colony, having an eye themselves that way, and thinking, if he should go, "their market would be marred in many regards." "And for these adversaries, if they have but half their will to their malice, they will stop my course when they see it intended." "Your God and ours and the God of all his, bring us together, if it be his will, and keep us in the mean while and always to his glory, and make us serviceable to his majesty, and faithful to the end. Amen."

But Robinson's work on earth was now nearly done; and so, in little more than two years after this, God called him home to his rest, away from the evil to come. Meanwhile, let us see how fully his predictions were fulfilled, and his discernment sustained in regard to the plottings against himself and the colony. His enemies in England were resolved, if possible, to break up the independent government of the colony, both civil and religious, and to establish an Episcopacy upon its ruins. For this purpose a plan was laid, and a fit instrument being found, the faction of Adventurers began to put it in execution. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Cushman were at this time in England on the business of the Pilgrims, but it is evident were not aware of the plot formed, nor of the character and designs of the agent employed, under the garb and profession of a preacher for the Colony.

The first rather quaint and curious notice of this affair we have in Gov. Bradford's notice of Mr. Cushman's letter to the Colony at the close of 1623, "wherein he writes that they (the Adventurers with Mr. Cushman) send a carpenter to build two ketches, a lighter, and six or seven shallops; a saltman, to make salt; and a preacher, though not the

most eminent, for whose going (says Cushman) Mr. Winslow and I *gave way to give content to some at London.*"*

This is the only instance we can discover of the colonists giving way to expediency before principle in any of their religious interests, and in this instance it was done perhaps to avoid an open quarrel with the Adventurers. But assuredly Mr. Winslow and Mr. Cushman should have paused before giving their consent to the sending of a questionable minister in the place of Robinson as the preacher to the Colony. It is evident they had no great opinion of his qualifications, and yielded only to necessity.

Let us now follow the result of this hazardous experiment, a most instructive one to the Pilgrims, but which would have proved of irreparable mischief, had it not been for the kind care of God, through the great wisdom and energy of Governor Bradford. We will take the curious record of the manner in which the three supplies turned out; carpenter, salt-man, and minister. It is to be found in Prince's New England Chronology under the year 1624, from Gov. Bradford's manuscript.

"The ship-carpenter sent us is an honest and very industrious man, quickly builds us two very good and strong shallops, with a great and strong lighter, and had hewn timber for two ketches; but this is spoilt; for in the hot season of the year he falls into a fever and dies, to our great loss and sorrow.

"But the salt-man is an ignorant, foolish, and self-willed man, who chooses a spot for his salt-works, will have eight or ten men to help him, is confident the ground is good, makes a carpenter rear a great frame of a house for the salt and other like uses, but finds himself deceived in the bottom: will then have a lighter to carry clay, and so forth, yet all in vain. He could do nothing but boil salt in pans. The next year is sent to Cape Ann, and then the pans are set up by the fishery; but before the summer is

* Bradford in Prince, 140.

out he burns the house and spoils the pans, and there is an end of this chargeable business.

"The minister is Mr. John Lyford, whom a faction of the Adventurers send to hinder Mr. Robinson. At his arrival he appears exceeding complaisant and humble, sheds many tears, blesses God that had brought him to see our faces, and so forth. We give him the best entertainment we can; at his desire we receive him into our church, when he blesses God for this opportunity and freedom to enjoy his ordinances in purity among his people. We make him larger allowance than any other [for his support]; and as the Governor used in weighty matters to consult with Elder Brewster, with the Assistants, so now he calls Mr. Lyford to council also. But Mr. Lyford soon joins with Mr. John Oldham, a private instrument of the factious part of the Adventurers in England, whom we had also called to council in our chief affairs without distrust. Yet they fall a-plotting both against our church and government, and endeavour to overthrow them."*

We will now change into the historic form the record which Mr. Prince thus faithfully presents from Governor Bradford. The uncovering and proof of this conspiracy, fraught with such unmingled evil to the colony, was brought about by admirable wisdom and energy on the part of the Governor. The movements and intentions of Lyford and Oldham having become manifest, he watched their proceedings very closely, and judging them to be in communication with that inimical faction among the Adventurers, of which already the brethren Winslow, Cushman, and Mr. Robinson himself had given account in their letters, and Mr. Winslow by his presence, he determined to intercept their measures. It is very likely that he already judged Lyford to be one of those "forward preachers," of whom Robinson had spoken so quaintly, as having a hank upon the professors, and as being deter-

* Prince, from Bradford, pp. 142, 149.

mined with all malice to use that *hank*, or influence, against himself. His forward extreme professions and demonstrations of tears, complaisances, and blessings at the outset, were not likely to commend him to a man of Governor Bradford's openness, sincerity, and quiet simplicity of character, but would rather, if anything, render him an object of suspicion to the Pilgrims, who had nothing of this hypocritical spirit or demeanor among them; so that they must have received him somewhat as Christian and Hopeful regarded Talkative, when he presented himself so plausibly and glibly to join them.

The master of the ship in which Lyford came was a thorough friend to Governor Bradford and the colony, and saw how things were going. They kept quiet till the ship was to return, and the letters from Lyford and Oldham to the conspirators in England had been prepared and put on board. Then, when the ship set sail towards evening, the Governor manned a shallop, went out in company with the ship three or four miles to sea, and there taking the correspondence of Lyford and Oldham, with the full consent of Captain Pierce the commander, who was aware of their actions, discovered, on examination, their whole treachery.

Amongst other letters, one was found directed to John Pemberton, a minister, and a violent enemy to the colony; in this letter copies of a letter were found inclosed, which had been written by a gentleman in England to Mr. Brewster, and also of another letter which Winslow had written to Mr. Robinson. These letters had been lying in the cabin of the ship in which Lyford embarked for America, and while she was anchored at Gravesend he opened and copied them.*

The Governor knew his man, and dealt with the fool according to his folly. It had been observed before the ship sailed that Lyford was much engaged in writing, and indeed he had been so careless and confident as to disclose

* Baylies' Hist. Mem. of Plymouth, p. 125.

parts of his correspondence to those with whom he was intimate, who made little secret of his communications, but boasted openly that they should have a change in the colony before long. The suspicions of the Governor being thus excited, and at length arising in his mind to a complete conviction, he deemed it his duty to act as he did for the safety of the colony.

The Governor returned on shore during the night, bringing some of the letters back with him for proof, but kept everything as yet private, till the conspirators should open their plot plainly. This they speedily did, so soon as Lyford and the few accomplices whom the factious part of the Adventurers had sent out, judged their party strong enough. They rose up, opposed the government and the church, drew a company apart, and set up for themselves, Lyford declaring that he would administer the sacrament to them by his Episcopal calling.

Upon this proceeding, Governor Bradford called a court and summoned the whole company to appear, and charged Lyford and Oldham with plotting and writing against them, all which they denied, not having the least suspicion of what was in reserve. Governor Bradford then produced their own letters, so that they were utterly confounded and convicted. Oldham became so outrageous that he would have raised a mutiny, but his party abandoned him, and the court expelled them from the colony. Lyford confessed his villany before the Court, acknowledging the falsehood of all that he had written, and afterwards did the same before the Church, begging their forgiveness with many tears, so that they even restored him to his office of teaching. This was a very hasty and inexpedient kindness, for in less than two months he was at his old work of slander, and wrote another letter to England, which came into the hands of the Governor. But his wickedness was not fully exposed till the coming of Messrs. Winslow and Pierce from England in the spring, with an account of all the evil

of Lyford's calumniating letters there, and of the development of previously unknown crimes while he was a minister in Ireland, on account of which he had been compelled to leave that kingdom. Upon this new discovery he was immediately deposed from the ministry.*

Lyford is said to have discovered the malignity of a demon, who was sent to mar the happiness of the settlement, and disturb the peace of the church. "The air was tainted with the slanders he wrote and spread, for the service of men who were enemies of the plantation. He was employed by those who, being inimical to all dissenters from the Established Church, and every species of Republican Government, wished to destroy this rising Commonwealth. The spies of Charles's court would search the uttermost part of the earth, for the sake of destroying men's liberty."†

Oldham returned to Plymouth, and there behaved again so outrageously that he was publicly sentenced "to pass through a guard of soldiers, receiving from each a blow on his hinder part with their muskets," after which he was shipped away. A year afterwards, being in extreme danger of death, he made a free and full confession of all the wrongs he had done the church and people.

Thus ended this affair, and with it all present effort after any other minister than Elder Brewster. About two years afterwards Mr. Allerton brought over from England for the colony "one Mr. Rodgers, a young man, for minister;" but within a year, "proving crazied in his brain, they were forced to be at further charge in sending him back, after losing all the cost expended in bringing him over, which was not small."‡

In the year 1629, Mr. Smith, one of the four ministers who came over with the Salem colonists, went with his

* Prince, p. 149, 153.

† Collections of Mass. Historical Society, for the year 1809, p. 274

‡ Bradford in Prince, p. 193.

family to some straggling people at Natasco ; and we find the following rather curious record from Governor Bradford's Journal in regard to his final settlement for some years at Plymouth: "Some Plymouth people," he says, "putting in with a boat at Natasco (the old name for Nantasket, a peninsula near the entrance of Boston Harbor, now called Hull), find Mr. Smith in a poor house that would not keep him dry. He desires them to carry him to Plymouth; and seeing him to be a grave man, and understanding he had been a minister, they bring him hither; where we kindly entertain him, send for his goods and servants, desire him to exercise his gifts among us ; afterwards choose him into the ministry, wherein he remains for sundry years."

Alden Bradford, in his History of Massachusetts, says of Smith, that he was of an odd temperament, and supposed sometimes to be partly insane.*

He was not in all respects fitted for his station, and indeed it was many years before the church at Plymouth enjoyed anything like the power and beauty of the ministrations of their first beloved Pastor.

* Bradford's History of Mass., p. 21.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FIRST CIVIL OFFENCE AND PUNISHMENT.—MILDNESS, FORBEARANCE, SELF-RESPECT, AND KINDNESS OF THE PILGRIMS.—THE FIRST MURDERER AND HIS END.—THEIR VIEWS OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR MURDER.—THE GREATNESS AND WISDOM OF THEIR LEGAL REFORMS.

All the transactions of the colony described in the earliest and most authentic records show the Plymouth Pilgrims to have been as kind, patient, persevering, and judicious a set of men as the Providence of God ever collected in one community. They manifested great qualities both of mind and heart, of natural temperament and piety. They maintained a very natural superiority over all the successive settlements of New England, not merely because theirs was the great honor of pioneers in suffering, but because, though in some after emigrations there was greater dignity of circumstance, yet there was never better stuff, nor equal endurance. They were upright, generous, manly in character and sentiment. There was a stamp of natural nobleness, openness, and courage, as well as constant reliance upon God. They were above every meanness and had a pure and high morality, and though in an obscure, unthought of theatre, so acted in all things, that now, when their whole stage with all the

scenery and persons is lifted into light with a world critically gazing at it, there is nothing seen but what is as noble and truly dignified as if it had been acted for the world. The reason is, because it was *not* acted *for* the world, but irrespective of the world, for conscience and for God. The total absence of the fear of man has produced the noblest epic in action of all secular ages.

The very first instances of crime among them being imitations in low life of English court bravery and gentility, were such as stamped disgrace and ridicule upon it for all coming time. It was good to have examples of fashionable wickedness put in so low and contemptible a setting as that to which the Pilgrims shut it up, when the foundations of many generations were building. It was better than the device of the Spartans to make their slaves drunk that their children might abhor the beastly vice of intemperance. Neck and heels of a serving man tied together is a good posture for the perpetual effigy of a New England duellist. If the Pilgrims had set their ingenuity to manufacture a caricature of affairs of honor for immortal opprobrium and ridicule, they could not have done better. It was only the second offence in the whole year's history of the colony. Prince takes the account from Governor Bradford's Register thus:

"June 18, 1621. The second offence is the first duel fought in New England upon a challenge at single combat with sword and dagger, between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, servants of Mr. Hopkins. Both being wounded, the one in the hand, the other in the thigh, they are adjudged by the whole company to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours, without meat or drink: which is begun to be inflicted, but within an hour, because of their great pains, at their own and their master's humble request, upon promise of better carriage, they are released by the Governor."

We should like to see all the duellists in the world tied

thus, neck and heels together; honor to whom honor is due. This punishment seems to have been very effectual. It was used in the case of the first offence committed in the colony, which was that of John Billington, a profane, miserable wretch, "shuffled in" by some unaccountable trickery among the Pilgrims at London, but who afterwards was hung for murder. March 24th 1621, he was "convicted before the whole company for his contempt of Captain Standish's lawful command with opprobrious speeches: for which he was adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together; but upon humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being the first offence, he is forgiven."

Governor Bradford, with an almost prophetic discernment of the elements of character and their consequences, declared in a letter to Mr. Cushman in 1621, concerning this miserable fellow, who for some cause was a great enemy of Cushman, that he was "a knave, and as such would live and die." It was the Governor's opinion that he was smuggled in most improperly among the Pilgrims in England, at their first embarkation, but how he knew not. He stained the soil of New England with the first murder, being truly the Cain of that Eden of the New World. Mr. Hubbard gives the account of his unprovoked crime and its just retribution, in the following words;

"About September, 1630, was one Billington executed at Plymouth, for murder. When the world was first peopled, and but one family to do that, there was yet too many to live peaceably together; so, when this wilderness began first to be peopled by the English, when there was but one poor town, another Cain was found therein, who maliciously slew his neighbor in the field, as he accidentally met him, as himself was going to shoot deer. The poor fellow, perceiving the intent of this Billington, his mortal enemy, sheltered himself behind trees as well as he could for a while; but the other not being so ill a marksman as to ruin his aim, made a shot at him, and struck him on the

shoulder, with which he died soon after. The murderer expected that either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the plantation, he should have his life spared; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murderer of his neighbor there, with the deserved punishment of death, for a warning to others."*

The trial of this murderer was a most important occasion. The colony were somewhat in doubt whether the patent gave them authority in cases of life and death to pass and execute judgment. They might deduce that authority from their own compact, but they were anxious to proceed legally as well as justly, in right form as well as in reality. They sought the advice of their brethren in Massachusetts, the case occurring in the same year with the arrival of Governor Winthrop and the company of colonists along with him. Governor Winthrop in his journal merely mentions the execution thus: "Billington executed at Plymouth for murdering." But it appears from Hutchinson, who, as Mr. Savage remarks, has perhaps digested all that can be known in regard to that trial, that Mr. Winthrop, having consulted with the ablest gentlemen there, concurred with the opinion at Plymouth that the man ought to die, and the land be purged from blood. This was founded on the divine command, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; which was not, in any case, to be dispensed with."† Hutchinson remarks that they observed all the forms of law, there being both grand jury and petty jury impanelled, and after indictment, verdict, and sentence, the criminal was executed. They took their authority and obligation of punishment by death for the crime of murder directly from the Word of God, regarding the old ordinance given to Noah as of universal appointment for the guidance of mankind.

* Hubbard's Gen. Hist. New England, ch. xvii., p. 101. Mass. Hist. Coll.
† Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., vol. ii., p. 413.

"They had need be very good artists," said Mr. Hubbard on another occasion, "and go exactly to work, that lay the foundation of a building; for a little error *there*, may appear very great and formidable in the superstructure, if any thing be done out of square in the bottom, which at the first is not easily discerned."

Now it is remarkable that in the first great instance of capital legislation in this country, our Pilgrim Fathers went not to the laws of England for their guidance, but to those of God. On this point Dr. Bacon of New Haven has written admirably. What system of legislation should the colonists take in founding a New World? They could not instantly frame a new system; it must be the work of time and experience. Should they take the laws of England? "Those were the very laws from which they fled. Those laws would subject them at once to the king, to the parliament, and to the prelates, in their several jurisdictions. The adoption of the laws of England would have been fatal to the object of their emigration." They could not take the Roman civil law; but they had a code of laws in every man's hand in the Bible, laws given to a community emigrating, like themselves, from their native country, for the great purpose of maintaining in simplicity and purity the worship of the one true God. Like the Israelites of old, they were to be a people surrounded by the heathen, and intermingled among them, and needing the influence of laws framed with a special reference to such a corrupting neighborhood and intercourse. Like the Hebrews also they were a free republican people, and needed laws for a community where there was no absolute power, where there were no privileged classes; laws, whose aim should be that equal and exact justice which is the only freedom.

Dr. Bacon proceeds to remark upon two of the most important effects of their renouncing the laws of England and adopting the Mosaic law; first, the change of the principle on which inheritances were to be divided, rejecting the

English rule of giving all real estate to the eldest son, thus doing away with the system of English aristocracy, and promoting equality among the people; and second, the change in respect to the inflicting of capital punishment. By this bold reformation, taking the Hebrew laws instead of the laws of England, the colonists reduced the bloody catalogue of crimes punishable by English law with death, down at once from one hundred and fifty to eleven! Dr. Bacon well remarks that "the greatest and boldest improvement which has been made in criminal jurisprudence by any one act since the dark ages, was that which was made by our fathers, when they determined that the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses, should be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts."*

On the greatness and wisdom of their legal reforms and precedents, Prescott Hall has likewise written with great beauty and power, somewhat in detail. He says that nearly all the important alterations made in the jurisprudence of New York within the last fifty years have been borrowed, directly or indirectly, from the laws of New England, and especially from those of Connecticut. "Indeed, I may go further, and say that there is scarcely a change, or an improvement, called for or suggested by the distinguished Lord Brougham in his great speech upon law reforms in England, delivered in the House of Commons in the year 1828, but what may be found among the enactments of legislatures and the practice of courts in the Eastern States."

These great improvements were begun at once. "With a bold defiance," says Mr. Hall, "of customs immemorial, and of forms rendered sacred by antiquity, they commenced the progress of legal reform from the moment their feet first pressed the sod of their new found country. With no affected disregard for the wisdom and learning of their ancestors, with no pretensions to a more perfect knowledge

* Bacon's Historical Discourses.

of man's true social condition than that which prevailed at home, they did nevertheless at once institute the inquiry as to how much of an antiquated system was suited to their wants and condition. Having the common Statute law of England open and before them, and with a steady eye upon ancient precedents, they began a system of legal change at once radical, yet conservative." Mr. Hall speaks of the subject of non-imprisonment for debt, as considered and acted on in New England two hundred years ago, and upon the law for a complete registration of lands, and upon the explosion of the complicated unnecessary forms in civil and other proceedings; simple and clear statements, and direct straightforward pleadings coming in their place.

"And then," says he, "as to that law that prefers the first born son to all others, in itself so iniquitous, what had our ancestors to say to that? They said it should be blotted out from the statute-book, once and for ever.

"How otherwise could equal rights be maintained or Republican forms of government be preserved? In the proud monarchies of Europe it became the policy of the aristocracy to preserve great estates in the same family in a direct line, that their influence might remain continuous and unbroken—thus transmitting from father to son not only the wealth of the ancestor but his political influence also.

"But in a free country how should we stand, if even without political authority, the parent might entail upon his son whole towns, and counties, and states? Would freemen contentedly ride for thirty-seven miles by the side of a great estate (as you may now in some parts of Great Britain), with the reflection in their minds that in all time to come, the influence of that proprietor and his descendants must remain unchecked and undisturbed?

"What caused the first outbreaks among the people of Rome when they left their city to take refuge on the sacred Mount? The monopoly of lands by the rich. What was the remedy there? A division of those lands among

people who had no claim upon them but hard necessity. But what agrarian law did our ancestors provide to check, if not effectually destroy, this dangerous accumulation of wealth in the same hands? They said that lands, where there was no will to direct otherwise, should descend to the heirs alike. That personal property should be equally distributed, and the power of entailment so limited that it must be renewed in every generation, in order to be kept alive. 'This,' says Judge Story, 'is the true agrarian law which in all time to come will guard the just rights of acquirement and possession, and correct the great public evils of inordinate accumulations; and you see how instantly our ancestors seized upon and adopted this indispensable improvement.'

"Then the criminal laws of England, more bloody than the laws of Draco, were all remodelled and their severities softened down, even at that time when men's minds had not begun much to consider this important matter. In all things, I assert with confidence, in relation to the laws, both public and private, our ancestors made great and marvellous improvements upon those of the land from whence they took their origin. And these reforms became afterwards matters of the highest political concernment when they had shaken off the control of the mother country. Republican in their habits of thinking and acting—republican in their frugality—republican in their laws and forms of government, the States of New England were early prepared for that great change wrought out for them by the War of the Revolution.

"Their civil and political rights were well understood from the very beginning:—they were preserved and cherished through all their early struggles for existence—and were all prepared to be acted upon when the day of trial came."*

* W. Prescott Hall's New England Society Address

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FIRST TOWN MEETING.—PROVIDENTIAL DISCIPLINE AND DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM.

From the Town meetings of New England, De Tocqueville deduces the whole grand fabric of civil liberty in these United States. There is much truth in the conclusion. The habit of thus meeting for consultation and decision on all common and important business, constituted a discipline of independence, freedom, and self-government, in the State, of which the pattern was first taken from the congregational independence and self-government under Christ, which had for so many years been practised in the Pilgrim Churches. This habit was the cradle of a well-ordered civil, as well as religious liberty. These Town meetings were at first composed mainly of members of the Church; for the greater number of the early Colonists were such, by profession and covenant. And in the manner of this action in civil affairs, they naturally and spontaneously went on according to the habit they had formed in religious affairs. The one ran into the other as naturally as the oak grows out of the acorn, as spontaneously as from the hidden germinating power and process in the seed, or growth in the tree, spring to their development the blossom and the fruit. It was thus that the Vine

out of Egypt, being caused to take deep root, filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadows of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. They became so tough and strong, that the boar out of the European woods might whet his tusks upon them, but could not harm them.

The record of the first town meeting in New England, nay, we might probably say in the whole world (for this was quite an original phenomenon), is in this Journal of the Pilgrims. The Era of the Town itself is fixed by Mr. Prince, not upon the day on which the Pilgrims first broke ground for building, nor the day on which they began to erect the first house for settlement, but about a week afterwards, on the last day in the year 1620 (being the first Lord's Day that any kept the Sabbath in the place of their building), they having, up to that time, assembled on board the May Flower, no other shelter being possible. There is great propriety and beauty in this; if the Pilgrims could have determined upon it, they would have desired just such a record. "At this time," says Mr. Prince, "we therefore fix the Era of their settlement here; to which they give the name of PLYMOUTH, the first English town in all this country, in a grateful memory of the Christian friends they found at Plymouth in England, as of the last town they left in that their native land."

The labor of building the Town goes on through the month of January, doubtless under the superintendence of Governor Carver, whom they had chosen on board the May Flower. We may say that all their consultations and determinations, as on January 9th, concerning the manner and division of labor in building, were the apparent germs or buds of the future fully developed institutions of the Town meeting. But the first decisive record is on Feb. 17th, when they met to appoint "military orders," and chose and invested with power accordingly, Miles Standish for

Captain. This, however, being mainly, if not solely, a meeting fixed for those military purposes alone, and having been moreover interrupted by the first alarming presentation of savages near the Town, which interruption was renewed on two other occasions on which they had a similar meeting, we pass to the last record in the Journal, March 23, 1621, where the bud is, as it were, in full and manifest development. It is a regular Town Meeting for common business, as well as for the completion of their "military orders," and for the forming of other laws convenient for their present state. They then likewise re-elected Governor Carver for the following year.

Soon after this, Governor Carver having been removed by death, there was another Town Meeting, at which Mr. Bradford was chosen governor, with Mr. Allerton for his assistant. June 18th, there was another, in which those extraordinary duellists, the two family servants of Mr. Hopkins, were "adjudged by the whole company" to their suitable and disgraceful punishment. July 2d, there was another Town Meeting; August 13th, another, on a very important occasion, called by the Governor, for aid of council. Thus these Town Meetings, begun in the infancy of the Colony, became its habit into manhood. They were assemblies of the freest, most independent, most mutually confidential character; for consultation, deliberation, decision, on the most important affairs that could come before the community. The Governor asked advice at those meetings.

March 23d, 1623, we find the record of one of them as follows: "Being a Yearly Court Day, the Governor communicates his intelligence to the whole company (alarming intelligence in regard to a conspiracy among the Indians), and asks their advice; who leave it to the Governor, with his assistant and the Captain, to do as they think most meet." The election days were Town Meeting days. In the spring of 1624, we find the record of their proceed-

ings, in Prince's Chronology, as follows: "The time of our electing officers for the year arriving, the Governor desires the people both to change the persons, and add more assistants to the Governor for council and help; showing the necessity of it; that if it were a benefit or honor, it was fit others should be partakers; or if a burthen, it was but equal others should help to bear it; and that this was to be the end of yearly elections. Yet they chose the same Governor, namely, Mr. Bradford. But whereas there was but one assistant, they now choose five, and give the Governor a double voice."

Thus the discipline of the Colony in self-government under God's good providence went on from year to year, from less to greater, from very small assemblies to very large ones, with which, if the Colony had begun, they would not also have begun in them these all important, open, free, deliberative meetings. God in his providence taught them little by little. And he let all these fixtures of the habits of a free State and people be confirmed and rendered more complete for several years, before he let the new and larger Colony at Salem come over to determine *their* settlement and fixtures. When they did come, they naturally fell, both in religious and civil affairs, into the same excellent habits, in their church covenant and business, and in free deliberation in Town Meetings, into which God had disciplined the Plymouth Pilgrims before them, and which by their example he had shown to be so admirably fitted for the purposes of piety, industry, virtue, public spirit, self denial, firmness, brotherly kindness, patience, wisdom, and freedom.

The origin of town governments, which Mr. Baylies thinks involved in some obscurity, seems very plainly to be found in the condition of the Colony of Plymouth during the first twelve years, in which the town, being the whole Colony, "exercised all those functions of government, which are now performed in towns, counties, and

commonwealths."* The town was also the Church. Afterwards, when other settlements were made, churches were formed to make them, and then by acts of incorporation they became towns. Even the ministers were settled by the towns in town meetings, and the salary was established and annually voted. Thus it is true that to the independent churches is to be traced the origin of those independent communities, which assumed the name of towns; in the independent churches, indeed, is the germ of all our liberties, both civil and religious.

Mr. Baylies has remarked that the system of town-governments is neither known in England, nor does it prevail in the Southern States. "Those who are strangers to our customs are surprised to find the whole of New England divided into a vast number of little democratic republics, which have full power to do all those things which most essentially concern the comforts, happiness, and wants of the people. Under the government of these little republics, society is trained in habits of order, and the whole people acquire a practical knowledge of legislation within their own sphere. To this mode of government may be attributed that sober and reflecting character, almost peculiar to the people of New England, and their general knowledge of politics and legislation. Many distinguished orators and statesmen have made their first essays in town meetings."

Truly it was a process of God's guidance with our fathers, which we can never enough admire, in which he wrought out, by their gradual experience, the frame and model, the statutes and habits, of a free, well-ordered, self-governed, Christian State. This was not *speculation* on government, either ecclesiastical or civil, by men's theories, but *action*, by the light of God's Word, under the leadings of God's Providence. It was neither Milton, nor Algernon Sidney, nor Hooker, nor Bacon, teaching *how* a Chris-

* Baylies' Hist. Memoir of Plymouth, 240, 241, 256

tian freedom *might* be man's possibility and privilege; it was God revealing it in actual possession.

They were humble, unostentatious, obscure men, most of them, whom God chose as his instruments in this demonstration; men schooled in self-denial, prepared by a baptism in hardship and suffering; men of calm resolution, unrepining endurance, and cheerful trust in God. These men, and not the speculative philosophers of Church and State despotisms, were the instruments of God in opening and demonstrating to the world the truths essential to the world's peace, on which only the world's welfare could rest, by the working of which alone the world's kingdoms could be conducted to the enjoyment of an indestructible liberty. And not the Courts of regal, or representative, or hierarchical grandeur; not the parliaments, or diets, or consulting assemblages of kingdoms a thousand years old; nor yet the applauded public stage of great cities, nor palace halls beneath the shadow of grand cathedrals, nor the magnificent cathedrals themselves, were the places which God chose for these last and grandest "births of time," for the suggestion or the demonstration of these simple, yet mighty truths; but the shadows of the primeval forest, log-huts in the wilderness, rough unbuilded hamlets of poor, wasted, dying men; conventicles, wigwams, and Town-meetings.

The opening of these truths was to be from point to point, not all at once, as a flood of supernatural light, but disciplinary, providential. And the experimental demonstration of these truths was to be as gradual as the growth of a vigorous, free, Christian State, in perfect religious liberty, beneath their light and influence. As a child passes from discipline to discipline, from school to school, from lower to higher masters and branches of knowledge, so from step to step God led on our Fathers. He led them so naturally, that at that time they could no more see the great end to which he was bringing them, or the expected and intended

consummation of light, than a being ignorant of the material processes of our world, who should be placed for the first time where he could watch the dawning of the day, could measure the stealthy imperceptible steps of the morning, or predict the glorious appearance of the sun. Indeed, at the time, they were often so overwhelmed with difficulties, and absorbed in the questions of this day's and the morrow's preservation, that as to God's providence and intentions, or their own discoveries of his future will, they were like men lost in catacombs, and feeling their way in almost total darkness. Nevertheless, they were coming to discoveries which were to renew the face of the earth; they were working out problems, by the solution of which the world was to be brought from its abode with the dead into the light of the living. Problems they were, upon the solution of which they could merely enter, merely take the first steps, while other generations would be requisite to complete them; but the right *entrance* was essential, a beginning in and from God's Word; and had not the first steps been steps in God, the after-progress would have been from intricacy to intricacy, instead of opening into perfect day. It is one of the most instructive things in the world, to watch the beginnings and utter shipwreck and failure of several other enterprises, side by side with that of our Pilgrim Fathers, but *not*, like that, conducted with a supreme regard to God's glory, in obedience to God's Word, and in entire dependence on God's providence and grace.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S LETTER BOOK.

It was an incomparable and most grievous carelessness that suffered the precious manuscript of Governor Bradford's Letter Book to be lost. The only remnant saved is to be found in the volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections for 1794, having been accidentally discovered in a grocer's shop in Halifax. It begins on the 339th page, the whole 338 preceding pages being lost irrecoverably. Into this work Governor Bradford seems to have systematically copied the whole of his correspondence relating to the affairs of the colony, interspersing and connecting it with remarks illustrative, and of the deepest interest, so that the whole formed an invaluable history.

The first document in it is a letter to Bradford, Allerton, and Winslow, and the rest of the colony through them, written doubtless by Mr. Sherley, but signed by eight among the Adventurers, who were of a good spirit, if the temper of the letter were theirs collectively, as it surely was of some severally. The letter is dated April 7, 1624. Of the man Weston it speaks in the following terms:

"It is a dangerous case, when a man groweth naught in prosperity, and worse in adversity; and what can the end of all this be, but more and more misery? And for con-

clusion with him, you may show him what we have wrote about him; and if that satisfy him not, but that he shall still follow his mad and malicious practices against you, warn him out of your precincts, and let it be upon his peril to set foot thereon; it being indeed no reason that a whole plantation should be disturbed or indamaged by the frantic humors of any one man whatsoever."

There are the following admirable Christian counsels set down in this letter, and worthy to be extracted and read.

"Let it not offend you that we wish you to look to yourselves, as first, that you walk close with God, being frequent and fervent in prayer, instruction, and doctrine, both openly and privately. Secondly, that you instruct and bring up your young ones in the knowledge and fear of God, restraining them from idleness and profanation of the Sabbath. Thirdly, that you freely and readily entertain any honest men into your church estate and society, though with great infirmities and difference of judgment; taking heed of too great straitness and singularity even in that particular. Fourthly, that there be fervent love and close cleaving together among you that are fearers of God, without secret whispering or undermining one of another, and without contempt or neglect of such as are weak and helpless, if honest, amongst you. This do, and in all things be humble, cheerful, and thankful; that if you cannot grow rich in this world, yet you may be rich in grace; and if you can send us no other treasure, yet let all that visit you bring from you the fame of honesty, religion, and godliness, which we trust shall comfort us more than all else you can send us in this world."

It was comforting to the Pilgrims to know that there were some men of this spirit of piety still standing by them among the Adventurers; and it was good to receive such counsels, for it made the colonists see and feel how the eyes of the world were upon them.

The next letter, Governor Bradford says, is the first received from England after the breach and separation between the Adventurers and the Pilgrims. It is signed by Messrs. Sherley, Collier, Fletcher, and Holland; but as Sherley at that time was sick, and thought to be nigh unto death, Governor Bradford concludes that the letter was written by Mr. Cushman at the request of the others. It bears internal evidence of being Mr. Cushman's. The following extract may show its excellent spirit and tenor in respect to advice and counsel.

"Seeing our generality (that is, the Company of Adventurers) here is dissolved, let yours be the more firm; and do not you like those carnal people, which run into evils and inconveniences by examples, but rather be warned by your harms, to cleave faster together hereafter. Take heed of long and sharp disputes and opposition; give no passage to the waters, no, not a tittle; let not hatred or heart-burning be harbored in the breast of any of you one moment, but forgive and forget all former failings and abuses, and renew your love and friendship together daily. There is often more sound friendship and sweeter fellowship in afflictions and crosses, than in prosperity and favors; and there is reason for it; because envy flieth away, when there is nothing but necessities to be looked on, but is always a bold guest where prosperity shows itself."

"And although we here, which are hedged about with so many favors and helps in worldly things and comforts, forget friendship and love, and oftentimes fall out for trifles, yet must not you do so, but must in these things turn a new leaf, and be of another spirit. We here can fall out with a friend and lose him to-day, and find another to-morrow; but you cannot do so; you have no such choice: you must make much of them you have, and count him a very good friend, which is not a professed enemy. We have a trade and custom of tale-bearing, whispering, and

changing of old friends for new, and these things with us are incurable. But you, which do, as it were, begin a new world, and lay the foundation of sound piety and humanity for others to follow, must suffer no such weeds in your garden, but nip them in the head, and cast them out for ever; and must follow peace and study quietness, having fervent love amongst yourselves, as a perfect and entire bond to uphold you when all else fails you.

"And albeit the company here, as a company, hath lost you; you know when Saul left David, yea and pursued him, yet David did not abuse his allegiance and loyalty to him; no more should you: the evil of us here cannot justify any evil in you, but you must still do your duty, though we neglect ours. We think it but reason, that after your necessities are served, you gather together such commodities as the country yields, and send them over to pay debts and clear engagements here, which are not less than 1400 pounds.

"Have an eye rather on your ill-deservings at God's hand, than upon the failings of your friends towards you; and wait on him with patience and good conscience; rather admiring his mercies than repining at his crosses, with the assurance of faith, that what is wanting here shall be made up in glory a thousand fold. Go on, good friends, comfortably pluck up your hearts cheerfully, and quit yourselves like men in all difficulties, that through displeasure and threats of men, yet the work may go on which you are about, and not be neglected, which is as much for the glory of God and the furtherance of our countrymen, as that a man may with the more comfort spend his life in it, than live the life of Methusaleh in wasting the plenty of a tilled land, or eating the fruit of a grown tree."

This curious letter, which Governor Bradford says is in Cushman's hand, bears marks of the same style of authorship conspicuous in the discourse on self-love, which Mr.

Cushman delivered to the Pilgrims when he was himself at Plymouth in 1621. But it is evident that he would not have written it, except at the desire and in behalf of the adventurers. It is an apology for their own ill conduct, and a deprecation of any retaliation for the same on the part of the Pilgrims. The Adventurers wish to secure themselves, and although in breaking up the Company, and the greater part of them turning against the Colony, they had forfeited all legal claim on account of the partnership, yet they must have their debts paid, and the other Pilgrims must pay them.

And whereas vicious courses may be pursued in England, and much worldly comfort still retained, and new friends gained in the place of old ones discarded, yet seeing this cannot be the case among the Pilgrims, they must at all hazards pursue the path of self-denial, and stick close to habits of virtue. And whereas in England money and goods were to be got at six per cent. interest, the Colony, as expecting hardships, and now in some measure accustomed to them, must not think strange if they have to pay seventy per cent. for the same. "And it standeth you in need the more carefully to look to, and make much of all your commodities, by how much the more they are chargeable to you; and though we hope you shall not want things necessary, yet we think the harder they are got the more carefully they will be husbanded. Good friends, as you buy them, keep a decorum in distributing them, and let none have varieties and things for delight, when others want for their mere necessities."

This was written to a people, who were all laboring with their hands for their daily bread, and struggling also for the subsistence of others thrown upon them. Little need there was, truly, of cautioning them to make much of such costly commodities, and to have a decorum about distributing them for mere delight and variety, when they were charged for them seventy per cent. advance on the

prices which they cost the Adventurers in England! And yet these commodities about which they were to be so careful lest any should have them for superfluities, were the very necessaries of life to the Colony; as cattle, cloth, hose, shoes, leather, and so forth. The Adventurers thought *the harder they were got, the more carefully they would be husbanded;* and therefore with kindly foresight made them seventy per cent. more costly than they were at home! A sure way to encourage industry, self-denial, and economical husbandry!

We think neither Mr. Sherley nor Mr. Cushman could have been partners, except from sheer necessity, and to avoid a greater evil, to such transactions. Indeed, we doubt if Mr. Sherley knew anything about the detail of these measures, for he was at this time at the point of death. And Mr. Cushman wrote, on his behalf and his own, to Governor Bradford, as follows:

"Mr. Sherley, who lieth even at the point of death, entreated me, even with tears, to write to excuse him, and signify how it was with him. He remembers his hearty, and as he thinks last salutations, to you and all the rest, who love our common cause. And if God does again raise him up, he will be more for you, I am persuaded, than ever he was. His unfeigned love towards us hath been such as I cannot express; and though he be a man not swayed with passion, or led by uninformed affections, yet hath he cloven to us still, amidst all persuasions of opposites, and could not be moved to have an evil thought of us, for all their clamors. His patience and contentment in being oppressed hath been much. He hath sometimes lent 800 pounds at one time, for other men to adventure in this business, all to draw them on; and hath indeed by his free-heartedness, been the only glue of the company. And if God should take him now away, I scarce think much more would be done, save to inquire us to the dividend, what is to be had."

This last sarcastic sentence shows Mr. Cushman's own opinion as to the men they had to deal with. Mr. Sherley was the only *glue* of the company.

Mr. Cushman himself was intending now to quit England for ever, and join the Pilgrims. In this, which was the last letter he ever wrote, he begs Governor Bradford to take care of his son, who was already in the Colony, as of his own; and he says, "I hope the next ships to come to you; in the mean space and ever, the Lord be all your direction, and turn all our crosses and troubles to his own glory and our comforts; and give you to walk so wisely and holily, as none may justly say but they have always found you honestly minded, though never so poor."

This letter was dated December 22. 1624, and it was his last. Instead of Mr. Sherley, he himself was taken, and Governor Bradford remarks, while recording his death, what cause have we ever to be ready! "He was now taken from these troubles, into which, by this division, we were so deeply plunged. And here I must leave him to rest with the Lord."

Governor Bradford's own letter in answer to Mr. Cushman reached London of course, not till after Mr. Cushman's death. It is affecting to see in it the proofs of familiar confidence and love, and the interchange of little messages of affection. "Your son and all of us," he says, "are in good health, blessed be God, and he received the things you sent him. I hope God will make him a good man. My wife remembers her love unto you, and thanks you for her spice. Billington still rails against you, and threatens to arrest you, I know not wherefore. He is a knave, and so will live and die."

This Billington was the same who committed the first offence in the Colony at Plymouth. He was a profane, hardened wretch, and came to his death on the gallows, for the crime of murder.

Governor Bradford says in this letter, "Except we may

have things, both more serviceable and at better rates, we shall never be able to rub through. Our people will never agree any way, again to unite with the Company, who have cast them off with such reproach and contempt, and also returned their bills and all debts upon their heads. But as for those our loving friends, who have and still do stick to us, and are deeply engaged for us, and are most careful of our goods, for our parts we will ever be ready to do anything that shall be thought equal and meet.

"But I think it will be best to press a clearance with the Company, either by coming to a dividend, or some other indifferent course of composition; for the longer we hang and continue in this confused and lingering condition, the worse it will be, for it takes away all heart and courage from men to do anything. For notwithstanding any persuasion to the contrary, many protest they will never build houses or plant fruits for those, who not only forsake them, but use them as enemies, loading them with reproach and contumely. Nay, they will rather ruin that which is done, than they should possess it. Whereas, if they knew what they should trust to, the place would quickly grow and flourish with plenty, for they never felt the sweetness of the country till this year; and now not only we, but all planters in the land begin to do it. The Lord hath so graciously disposed, that when our opposites thought that many would have followed their faction, they so distasted their palpable dishonest dealings, that they stuck more firmly unto us, and joined themselves to the Church."

The next thing Governor Bradford did in this business, was to write a letter to the Council of New England, supplicating their help in compelling the Adventurers to come to some just composition. For the carrying and pursuit of this application in London, the Colony chose Captain Miles Standish, who, as we have seen, arrived on his business in the midst of a fervent pestilence, by reason of which he could accomplish little or nothing.

In this letter to the Council, Governor Bradford speaks of the many necessities the Pilgrims have undergone, "incident to the raw and immature beginnings of such great exertions, and the more to which they are still subject."

"We are many people consisting of all sorts, as well women and children, as men; and are now left and forsaken of our Adventurers, who will neither supply us with necessaries for our subsistence, nor suffer others that would be willing; neither can we be at liberty to deal with others, or provide for ourselves, but they keep us tied to *them*, and yet *they* will be loose from *us*. They have not only cast us off, but entered into particular courses of trading, and have by violence and force taken at their pleasure our possessions at Cape Ann. Traducing us with unjust and dishonest clamors abroad, disturbing our peace at home, and some of them threatening that if ever we grow to any good estate, they will nip us in the head. Which discouragements do cause us to slack our diligence and our care to build and plant, not knowing for whom we work, whether friends or enemies. Our humble suit therefore to your good lordships and honors is, that seeing they have so unjustly forsaken us, that you would vouchsafe to convene them before you, and take such order, as we may be free from them, and they come to a division with us, that we and ours may be delivered from their evil intents against us."

The visit of Captain Standish, though in the midst of the plague, was doubtless of some benefit towards inclining the Adventurers to come to some agreement with the Colony; and the next year, 1626, Mr. Allerton was sent to England to see what could be done. The documents are set down in Governor Bradford's Letter Book; first the bond of the Colonists, by which Mr. Allerton succeeded in getting a loan of 200 pounds, at thirty per cent. interest, as is stated in Governor Bradford's own words, as follows:

"Upon this order he got two hundred pounds, but it was at thirty in the hundred interest, by which it appears in what straits we were. And yet this was upon better terms than the goods which were sent us the year before, being at forty-five per cent., so that it was God's marvellous providence that we were ever able to wade through things; as will better appear, if God give me life and opportunity to handle them more particularly, in another treatise more at large, as I desire and purpose, if God permit, with many other things, in a better order."

Besides getting this supply of money at such usurious and destructive interest, Mr. Allerton succeeded in bringing the Adventurers to a composition and agreement, the deed of which is recorded in full in the Letter Book, with the signatures of the Adventurers thereto, in number forty-two. By this deed the Adventurers sold to Isaac Allerton, in behalf of the planters at New Plymouth, in consideration of the sum of eighteen hundred pounds sterling, all their property and right in the stocks, shares, lands, merchandise, and chattels of the Colony. The money to be paid 200 pounds yearly, beginning on the feast day of St. Michael, 1628.

"Thus all now is become our own," adds Governor Bradford, "and doubtless this was a great mercy of God with us, and a great means of our peace and better subsistence, and wholly dashed all the plots and devices of our enemies both there and here, who daily expected our ruin, dispersion, and utter subversion by the same; but their hopes were thus far prevented, though with great care and labor we were left to struggle with the payment of the money."

The next letter in Governor Bradford's Letter Book is from Mr. Sherley to his friend the Governor, dated London, Dec. 27, 1627, concerning the conclusion of this same agreement. He says, "we cannot but all take notice how the Lord hath been pleased to cross our proceedings, and caused many disasters to befall us therein; and sure I con-

ceive the only cause to be that we, or many of us here, *aimed at other ends than God's glory;* but now I hope that cause is taken away, the bargain being fully completed." He speaks of the malice of some against himself on account of his unshaken friendship for the Pilgrims and the colony; and he says, that now, if they do but have content and peace among themselves and with the natives, doubtless "the God of peace will bless your going out and returning in, and cause all to which you set your hand to prosper; the which I shall ever pray the Lord to grant, if it be his most blessed will, and that for Jesus Christ's sake."

Governor Bradford, out of the fulness of his heart, sets a star to this prophecy of God's blessing, and says in a note, "He hath hitherto done it, blessed be his name!"

In a letter of Mr. Sherley's to Governor Bradford, in November, 1628, he says, "It is true, as you write, your engagements are great, not only the purchase, but you are yet necessitated to take up the stock you work upon, and that not at six or eight per cent., as it is here let out, but at thirty, forty, yea and some fifty per cent., which were not your gains great, and God's blessing on your honest endeavors more than ordinary, it could not be that you should long subsist, in the maintaining and upholding of your worldly affairs."

After this letter follows a copy of the agreement made, as noted in Chapter III., between eight of the principal Pilgrims and the rest of the colony, for an exclusive pursuit of the trade of the colony for six years, in consideration of which they, the eight aforesaid, and four others, whom they procured to join them in London in this bargain, took upon themselves the payment of all the debts of the colony; the trade to return to the colony as before at the expiration of the six years. The Governor gives the reasons for this engagement, particularly their desire to transport as many of their Leyden brethren to the colony as possible, they being unable to come of themselves. The whole arrange-

ment was one of admirable wisdom, and issued in complete success. The four friendly adventurers of London, who were helpers in it, were, Sherley, Beauchamp, Andrews, and Hatherly. Mr. Sherley wrote in 1629, as follows: "In all respects I do not see but you have done marvellously discreetly and advisedly, and no doubt it gives all parties good content." Mingled with these business letters are ever and anon interspersed pleasant and homely memorials of love. "My wife desires to be remembered to you and yours, and I think she has put up a small token, as a pair of stockings, for you."

"Mr. Bradford," adds Mr. Sherley in a postscript, "give me leave to put you in mind of one thing. Mr. Allerton hath been a trusty, honest friend to you all, either there or here; and if any do speak ill of him, believe them not. Indeed, they have been unreasonably chargeable, yet grudge, and are not contented. Verily, their indiscreet carriage here hath so abated my affection towards them, as, were Mrs. Robinson well over, I would not disburse one penny for the rest."

The Governor then explains this, saying that the offence was given by some of their Leyden friends, whom they had undertaken to transport to the colony, but redounded to the prejudice of the whole. He says that this company were fewer in number than the one previous, though their expenses came to a hundred pounds more. "And notwithstanding this indiscretion, yet they were such as feared God, and were to us both welcome and useful for the most part; they were also kept at our charge eighteen months, and all new apparelled, and all other charges defrayed."

The next letter is from Mr. Sherley to the Governor and the Pilgrims, giving an account of the immense labor, turmoil, and expense, which it had cost Mr. Allerton to get a new patent of incorporation, for which they were suing; how he was put off and referred from one to another, and from place to place, day after day, from Lord Keeper to

Lord Treasurer, and from Lord Treasurer to the Council Table, and at great cost of "many riddles which must be re-solved, and many locks opened with the silver, nay, the golden key; a costly and tedious business."

"Loving friends and partners," says Mr. Sherley, "be no ways discouraged with the greatness of the debt. Let us not fulfil the proverb, 'bestow twelve pence on a purse, and put sixpence in it;' but as you and we have been at great charge, and undergone much for settling of you there, and to gain experience, so, as God shall please to enable us, let us make use of it, and not think with fifty pounds a year sent over, to raise such means to pay our debts." "I know I write to godly, wise, and understanding men, such as have learned to bear one another's infirmities, and rejoice at any one's prosperity; and if I were able, I would press this the more, because *it is hoped by some of your and our enemies, that you will fall out among yourselves, and so overthrow our hopeful business. Nay, I have heard it credibly reported that some have said, that till you be disjointed by discontents and factions amongst yourselves, it boots not for any to go over, in hope of getting or doing good in these parts; but we hope better things of you.*"

Experience is indeed a costly commodity. What a picture is here of the malignity which the Pilgrims had to encounter. This fierce and spiteful hope against them was nothing less than an expectation and desire of the entire up-breaking of their whole system of religion, church, government, and colony; and then a plantation of the Establishment of England should have been settled "to do good in those parts."

Governor Bradford adds some particulars as to the greatness of the debts they had to assume and incur. "The last company of our friends," he says, "came at such a time of the year, as we were fain to keep them eighteen months at our charge, ere they could reap any harvest to live upon; all which together fell heavy upon us, and made

the burthen greater; that if it had not been God's mercy, it is a wonder we had not sunk under it, especially other things occurring, whereby we were greatly crossed in our supplies for trade, by which these sums should have been repaid."

From the perusal of these extracts my readers will see both with what method and care Governor Bradford kept his various records for the History of the Colony, and what great and valuable light the contents of his Letter Book must have shed upon the continuous course of their affairs from the beginning. Three hundred and thirty-eight pages of that precious register served as the wrappers of English groceries in Halifax.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF PLYMOUTH.—THE HOUSES AND ARMOR OF THE PILGRIMS.—DESCRIPTION OF THEIR MODE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

It is pleasant to feel, in visiting Plymouth, that there is no possibility of misplaced or mistaken enthusiasm. You may without doubt press with your own feet the spot first trodden by your fathers, to lay there the foundation of your New England home. The way in which this certainty has been preserved, and made now inextinguishable, is of no little interest. In the year 1741, there was living near Plymouth the last ruling elder in the first church of Plymouth, Thomas Faunce by name. He died not till the year 1745, at the great age of 99. Holmes, in his American Annals, says that Elder Faunce knew well the Rock on which the Pilgrims first landed, and that it was his tears, perhaps, which saved it from oblivion. In 1741, it formed part of the natural shore of the harbor, where the water flowed at highest tide, as when the Pilgrims stepped out from their shallop. There seems to have been neither wharf nor made land interrupting or concealing it. In that year the project was entertained of building a wharf, which would cover it, and the idea of thus losing from sight this sacred memorial of the Pilgrims, was so distressing to the vene-

rable patriarch, that he wept on hearing of it, left his home at the age of 95, and "in the presence of many citizens" at Plymouth, pointed out that Rock as the very spot declared by the Pilgrims themselves, with whom he had been contemporary, to be the identical rock on which they landed. Deacon Ephraim Spooner, who was 52 years town clerk of Plymouth, and who died in 1818, at the age of 83, was present at the above-mentioned interview of the citizens at the Rock with Elder Faunce, in the year 1741.

When the Revolutionary conflict was impending, just before the breaking out of the war, the patriots of Plymouth are described as having undertaken, in the earnestness of their zeal, to remove the whole Pilgrim Rock, or a large part of it, to the Town Square, in order to make there a patriotic rendezvous and liberty-pulpit, to excite the people against the oppressions of England. In these energetic efforts, having split off a huge fragment of the Rock, they concluded to let the original ledge remain as it was, and by means of some twenty yoke of oxen dragged their prize to the Town Square, where they put up a liberty pole, and made the Rock one of the stepping-stones of American independence. There it remained till 1834, when it was with suitable ceremonies inaugurated as a sort of monumental sarcophagus, within the iron railing in front of Pilgrim Hall, where it is now to be seen. The people of Plymouth will not have done their duty to the original Rock, till they make a little park around it, down to the water's edge, where annually there might be a pleasant ceremony of landing from the sea, as solemn and magnificent as that of dropping a ring into the Adriatic at Venice, and much more glorious in its meaning. The Rock now in front of the Hall, with the inscribed names in black around it, might be apt to suggest to the mind the idea of a coffin or monumental urn, with the pall-bearers. It looks too hearse-like, for a pleasant impression, such as one would wish to have be-

fore that relic, which is the emblem of life, not death, for New England.

The antiquities of the first band of the Puritans in New England are few, and therefore the more precious. What there are, are quite undoubted, and we have a feeling for them like that of Paul, when he spoke of the golden pot that had the manna, and Aaron's rod that budded; things, however sacred, which God did not suffer to be preserved, any more than the brazen-serpent in the wilderness, lest they should produce a mongrel superstitious Romanism before its time; an earnest of the idolatry of the Man of Sin and Son of Perdition before his development. Nevertheless, we would have been grateful had there been preserved one or two houses, with their furniture, of the earliest Pilgrim settlers in Plymouth. It is little more than two hundred years, and yet not a dwelling remains.

The first habitations constructed must have been inferior and rude, and in the whole of the first year's time they had but seven. Their houses were of thatched roofs, and from Mr. Winslow's letter contained in the volume of their Journal, it would appear that for windows, to keep out the weather and let in the light, they used paper, saturated with linseed oil. On occasions of state, such as the reception of Massasoit, the Indian king, they had a green rug that they could spread, and some cushions. From the beautiful specimen preserved in Pilgrim Hall, of the needlework of one of the daughters of Captain Miles Standish, we see that the New England women knew how to adorn their houses and make them comfortable. "She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands. She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff. She is not afraid of the snow for her household, for all her household are clothed with double garments." Not afraid of the snow! A New England characteristic, that. And how beautiful, with all that economy and industry of household

comfort, the higher delineation of the sacred writer, "She stretcheth out her hand to the poor, yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy."

They were all poor and sad and needy that first year, and many were dying; yet did they work while the day lasted, with cheerful, indefatigable courage. "We agreed," say the Pilgrims in their Journal, "that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first year we made our rendezvous, being nearly finished (a month or so after the landing), wanted only covering, it being about twenty feet square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much." Little room there was for ornament. Each man building his own house in this winter weather, would think himself but too happy in a dwelling of rough logs. And the timber had to be felled, and the stuff provided, in intervals between storms, and sometimes with musket in hand, for fear of sudden assaults from the savages. Would that one of those earliest houses, erected that first winter, had been preserved!

We have spoken of the mildness of this first winter. Wood says, in his New England's Prospect,* that it is observed by the Indians that every ten years there is little or no winter, an observation confirmed by the experience of the English; for the year of the Plymouth men's arrival was no winter in comparison; and in the tenth year likewise after that, when the great company settled in Massachusetts Bay, it was a very mild season. There was little frost and less snow, but clear serene weather, with but few Northwest winds, which was a great mercy to the settlers, so little protected from the severity of the weather. He adds that the climate is much less cold-catching than in England, and in proof of this he gives the decorum of

* Wood's New England Prospect, p. 5.

men's noses at meeting. In the public assemblies he says it is strange to hear a man sneeze or cough as ordinarily they do in Old England.

We find from the Journal that the Pilgrims not only had muskets and other weapons, but some of them went clad in suits of complete armor, as is manifest from the description of their encounters with the Indians. Sometimes they were surprised without their armor, which would be a complete defence against the arrows of their enemies. They had their armor at hand, on the morning of the great encounter with some twenty or thirty of the savages, Dec. 8th, 1620; but it being yet dark, and just after morning prayers, and they just preparing for breakfast, when they had just camped and gathered fire-wood, they had not yet girded it on; and indeed, not expecting any use for it that day, they were for carrying it down to the shallop, where it would be all ready for their embarkation. Two or three among them declared they would not carry theirs, till they were ready to go themselves. Meantime some had carried theirs down, and left it lying on the sands, while they themselves came up again for breakfast; when suddenly a terrific war-whoop sounded from the woods, and a whole volley of arrows came flying in amongst them. The men ran out, and by the good providence of God, say the Pilgrims, recovered their arms, but they could not then have had time to buckle on their armor. Yet not a single arrow hit any one of them, though the conflict lasted a good while. They had nothing but matchlocks to their muskets, so that it took some time to light their matches, and while doing this with the firebrands, they afforded a plain mark for the Indians. In the dark of the morning, as they said, they could not themselves so well discern the Indians among the trees, as the Indians could see them by their fire-side. It was a most perilous interruption of their breakfast, and altogether a terrible encounter, though most providentially, with not the slightest injury on their part. They gathered

up eighteen of the arrows, brazen-headed, horn-headed, and otherwise, and sent them to their friends in England.

Their armor is described in some of the records of the Colonists. Of the settlers at Virginia, Captain John Smith says that they all had, besides each his "peice," a jack, coat of mail, and sword, or rapier. In a record concerning the Salem Colonists in 1629,* there is note of an agreement "with Mr. Thomas Stevens, Armorer in Buttolph Lane, for twenty arms, namely, corset, breast, back, culet, gorget, tasses and head piece to each, varnished all black, with leathers and buckles, at seventeen shillings each armour, excepting four which are to be with close head pieces, and these four armours at twenty-four shillings a piece." Forty bandileers of neat's leather in broad girdles with boxes for twelve cartridges were also contracted for. For a scouting party, or a tramp through the woods, this heavy armor must have been a great incumbrance, but it would render them fire-proof against all the weapons of the Indians. On one occasion they say, we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armor in pieces. They were then in pursuit of the Indians, whom they had followed long already without success, and who now took to another wood, and set their pursuers, with their armor and snaphances, at defiance. Indeed, what could a heavy armed warrior of the disappearing age of knighthood do in the chase with a half naked savage, as fleet and accustomed to the woods as a panther!

Thus much for their material armor. They were all experienced Christian soldiers, but with the wars and weapons of this world they had little to do. God had appointed for them one disciplined military hero, and but one, Captain Standish, to be the soul and leader in every enterprise, where martial discipline and skill were requisite. And so well fitted was he, by a vigorous judgment, and a daring, ener-

* Felt's Annals of Salem. Vol. i., p. 64.

getic, almost reckless courage, for the post he occupied, that after the Indians had gained, by one or two experiences, some little knowledge of his character, the very terror of his name was a defence to the Colony. But they were Pilgrims, all the way through life, and the weapons of their warfare were spiritual, not carnal, and well, with the whole armor of God, did they wrestle against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Their feet were shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, their loins were girt about with truth, and they had on the breast-plate of righteousness, and theirs was the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God, and they prayed always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, watching thereunto. Yea, they were overshadowed, according to that touching letter to the Church of England, in which the second Colony of Pilgrims from the Mother Country poured out the desires of their hearts for her welfare, with the spirit of supplications, in their poor cottages in the wilderness.

Twenty years after the May Flower anchored in Plymouth Harbor, only twenty years after the first New England Sabbath, there was a circle of sister churches, one after another, like unseen constellations, in the beautiful imagery used by Cotton Mather, silently stolen into the sky, where the order of Christ's House was to be seen in its primitive simplicity, perhaps more comely and holy than anywhere else in the world. And yet the order of those simple services seemed strange and rude to the European gazers, so long had the world been accustomed to the prodigality and pomp of circumstance and ceremony, native and home-born in the Papacy, or borrowed from that. What a forcible, heavenly, significant contrast of Spirit and Truth, against rites and traditions, in the free, rising, *prophesying* Churches of New England!

A minute and interesting account of the manner of public worship in the meeting-houses there, at the close of twenty years from the first planting of the Vine in the Wilderness, was published at London in the year 1641, in a curious volume, from which we take the following extracts:

"The public worship is in as fair a *meeting-house* as they can provide, wherein, in most cases, they have been at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lord's Day they come together at Boston by ringing of a bell about nine of the clock or before. The pastor begins with solemn prayer, continuing about a quarter of an hour. The teacher then readeth and expoundeth a chapter; then a psalm is sung, whichever one of the ruling elders dictates. After that the pastor preacheth a sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing.

"Once a month is a Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, whereof notice is usually given a fortnight before, and then all others departing except the Church, which is a great deal less in number than those that go away, they receive the Sacrament, the ministers and ruling elders sitting at the table, the rest in their seats or upon forms. Any one, though not of the church, may in Boston come in and see the Sacrament administered, if he will. But none of any church in the country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes to one of the ruling elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they go to the Sacrament.

"About two in the afternoon they repair to the meeting-house again; and then the pastor begins, as before noon, and a psalm being sung, the teacher makes a sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a chapter also before his sermon in the afternoon. After and before his sermon he prayeth.

"After that ensues baptism, if there be any, which is

done either by pastor or teacher, in the deacons' seat, the most eminent place in the church, next under the elders' seat. The pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the church and parents concerning baptism, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the church, the child may be baptized. No sureties are required.

"Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of churches, or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the ministers press a liberal contribution, with effectual exhortations out of Scripture. The magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up, one after another, one way, and bring their offerings to the deacon at his seat, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattel, they set or lay it down before the deacons, and so pass another way to their seats again. This contribution is of money, or of papers promising so much money. I have seen a fair gilt cup with a cover offered there by one, which is still used at the communion. Which moneys and goods the deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the ministers, and the poor of the church, and the church's occasions, without making account ordinarily.

"Also when a minister preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling elder of the place, after the psalm sung, saying publicly, 'If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on.' This is held prophesying. Also when a brother exerciseth in his own congregation, taking a text of Scripture, and handling the same according to

his ability. Notwithstanding, it is generally held in the Bay by some of the most grave and learned men among them, that none should undertake to prophesy in public, unless he intend the work of the ministry."*

Here we close these chapters of attempted historical and illustrative notices of the developments of God's providence and grace. In recounting some of those particulars upon which we have dwelt, I have quoted from the historian Grahame. The perusal of a part of the *Poet* Grahame's fine descriptive sketches of the Sabbath in Scotland brings to mind a class of Christians, with whom the stern experiences and noble qualities of our Pilgrim Fathers link them in many points of resemblance. And I know not how I can more fitly end this volume, than with Grahame's beautiful description of the character and Sabbath of the Scottish COVENANTERS, hunted and persecuted, because they would be free to worship God.

O BLISSFUL day!
When all men worship God as conscience wills.
Far other times our fathers' grandsires knew,
A virtuous race, to godliness devote.
What though the sceptic's scorn hath dared to soil
The record of their fame! What though the men
Of worldly minds have dared to stigmatize
The sister-cause, religion and the law,
With superstition's name! yet, yet their deeds,
Their constancy in torture, and in death.—
These on tradition's tongue still live; these shall
On history's honest page be pictured bright
To latest times. Perhaps some bard, whose muse
Disdains the servile strain of fashion's quire,
May celebrate their unambitious names.
With them each day was holy, every hour
They stood prepared to die, a people doom'd
To death:—old men, and youths, and simple maids.
With them each day was holy; but that morn

* Lechford's Plain Dealing, Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., third series, vol. iii.

On which the angel said, *See where the Lord*
Was laid, joyous arose; to die that day
Was bliss. Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, thro' woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks,
Dispart to different seas. Fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scoop'd, a plat
With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye: in solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
There, leaning on his spear (one of the array,
Whose gleam, in former days, had scathed the rose
On England's banner, and had powerless struck
The infatuate monarch and his wavering host),
The lyart veteran heard the word of God
By Cameron thunder'd, or by Renwick pour'd
In gentle stream: then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise: the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint: the solitary place was glad,
And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear *
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.
But years more gloomy follow'd; and no more
The assembled people dared, in face of day,
To worship God, or even at the dead
Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,
And thunder peals compell'd the men of blood
To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
The scatter'd few would meet, in some deep dell
By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
Their faithful pastor's voice: He, by the gleam
Of sheeted lightning, oped the sacred book,
And words of comfort spake: Over their souls
His accents soothing came,—as to her young
The heathfowl's plumes, when, at the close of eve,
She gathers in, mournful, her brood dispersed
By murderous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast,
They, cherish'd, cower amid the purple blooms.

* Sentinels were placed on the surrounding hills, to give warning of the approach of the military.

There is now a Free Church in Scotland, as there is in New England, because the ancestral piety of both countries was that of a free, voluntary covenant with God.

The Old World are even yet but beginning to learn the nature, the truth, and the power, of a voluntary piety, a voluntary covenant, and voluntary churches. Men are beginning to see that a state can be religious only in proportion as the individuals who compose it are true voluntary Christians, and the acts and laws that emanate from it and manifest its character are in correspondence with the Gospel; that the grace of God alone, and not an Ecclesiastical or State-Sacrament, can make Christians; that the grace of God is free, and makes men freemen; that the Church does not include the State, except as God, by his grace, brings the subjects of the State into Christ's fold; and that the State does not include the Church in its spiritual existence and privileges, as contained in its charter in God's Word, and has no authority over it, and no responsibility in regard to it, except to protect the Christian and civil liberties of all its members, as of all citizens, from all annoyance and all injury. When these principles are thoroughly learned, and prevalent, then, and not till then, will the fever of intolerance and the fire of persecution die out of existence. When Christ reigns, then, and not till then, will the world rest.

THE END.

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